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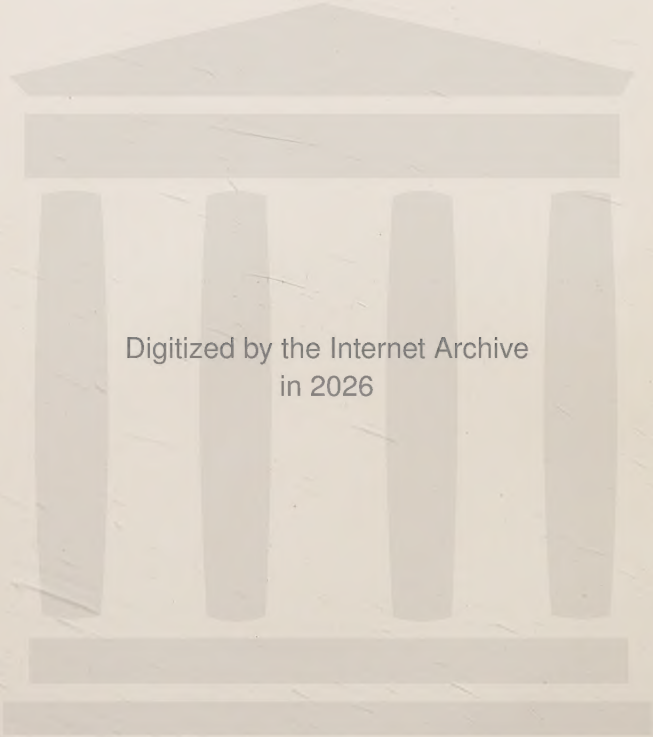

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President William McKinley.

HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

FROM THE EARLIEST DISCOVERY OF AMERICA TO THE PRESENT TIME

BY

E. BENJAMIN ANDREWS

LATE CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA
FORMERLY PRESIDENT OF BROWN UNIVERSITY

WITH 650 ILLUSTRATIONS AND MAPS

VOLUME V.

NEW YORK
CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS
1925

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PERIOD VI.

EXPANSION

1888–1902

CHAPTER I.

DRIFT AND DYE IN LAW-MAKING

Race war at the South following the abolition of slavery, new social conditions everywhere, and the archaic nature of many provisions in the old laws, induced, as the century drew to a close, a pretty general revision of State constitutions. New England clung to instruments adopted before the civil war, though in most cases considerably amended. New Jersey was equally conservative, as were also Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, and Wisconsin. New York adopted in 1894 a new constitution which became operative January 1, 1895. Of the

old States beyond the Mississippi only Kansas, Iowa, Minnesota, and Oregon remained content with ante-bellum instruments. Between 1864 and 1866 ten of the southern States inaugurated governments which were not recognized by Congress and had to be reconstructed. Ten of the eleven reconstruction constitutions were in turn overthrown by 1896. In a little over a generation, beginning with Minnesota, 1858, fourteen new States entered the Union, of which all but West Virginia and Nebraska retained at the end of the century their first bases of government. In some of these cases, however, copious amendments had rendered the constitutions in effect new.

As a rule the new constitutions reserved to the people large powers formerly granted to one or more among the three departments of government. Most of them placed legislatures under more minute restrictions than formerly prevailed. The modern documents were much longer than earlier ones, dealing with many subjects previously left

to statutes. Distrust of legislatures was further shown by shortening the length of sessions, making sessions biennial, forbidding the pledging of the public credit, inhibiting all private or special legislation, and fixing a maximum for the rate of taxation, for State debts, and for State expenditures.

South Dakota, the first State to do so, applied the initiative and referendum, each to be set in motion by five per cent. of the voters, to general statutory legislation. Wisconsin provided for registering the names of legislative lobbyists, with various particulars touching their employment. The names of their employers had also to be put down. Many new points were ordered observed in the passing of laws, such as printing all bills, reading each one thrice, taking the yeas and nays on each, requiring an absolute majority to vote yea, the inhibition of "log-rolling" or the joining of two or more subjects under one title, and enactments against legislative bribery, lobbying, and "riders."

While the legislature was snubbed, there

appeared a quite positive tendency to concentrate responsibility in the executive, causing the powers of governors considerably to increase. The governor now enjoyed a longer term, was oftener re-eligible, and could veto items or sections of bills. By the later constitutions most of the important executive officers were elected directly by the people, and made directly responsible neither to governors nor to legislatures.

The newer constitutions and amendments paid great attention to the regulation of corporations, providing for commissions to deal with railroads, insurance, agriculture, dairy and food products, lands, prisons, and charities. They restricted trusts, monopolies, and lotteries. Modifications of the old jury system were introduced. Juries were made optional in civil cases, and not always obligatory in criminal cases. Juries of less than twelve were sometimes allowed, and a unanimous vote by a jury was not always required. Growing wealth and the consequent multiplication of litigants necessitated an increase in the number of judges

in most courts. Efforts were made, with some success, by combining common law with equity procedure, and in other ways, to render lawsuits more simple, expeditious, and inexpensive.

Restrictions were enacted on the hours of labor, the management of factories, the alien ownership of land. The old latitude of giving and receiving by inheritance was trenched upon by inheritance taxes. The curbing of legislatures, the popular election of executives, civil service reform, and the creation of a body of administrative functionaries with clearly defined duties, betrayed movement toward an administrative system.

A stronghold of political corruption was assaulted from 1888 to 1894 by a hopeful measure known as the "Australian" ballot. It took various forms in different States, yet its essence everywhere was the provision enabling every voter to prepare and fold his ballot in a stall by himself, with no one to dictate, molest, or observe. Massachusetts, also the city of Louisville, Ky., employed

this system of voting so early as 1888. Next year ten States enacted similar laws. In 1890 four more followed, and in 1891 fourteen more. By 1898 thirty-nine States, all the members of the Union but six, had taken up "kangaroo voting," as its foes

A New York Polling Place, showing booths on the left.

dubbed it. Of these six States five were southern.

An official ballot replaced the privately —often dishonestly—prepared party ballots formerly hawked about each polling place by political workers. The new ballot was

a "blanket," bearing a list of all the candidates for each office to be filled. The arrangement of candidates' names varied in different States. By one style of ticket it was easy for the illiterate or the straight-out party man to mark party candidates. Another made voting difficult for the ignorant, but a delight to the discriminating.

The new ballot, though certainly an improvement, failed to produce the full results expected of it. The connivance of election officials and corrupt voters often annulled its virtue by devices growing in variety and ingenuity as politicians became acquainted with the reform. Statutes and sometimes constitutions therefore went further, making the count of ballots public, ordering it carried out near the polling place, and allowing municipalities to insure a still more secret vote and an instantaneous, unerring tally by the use of voting machines.

In the North and West the tendency of the new fundamental laws was to widen the suffrage, rendering it, for males over twenty-one years of age, practically universal.

Woman suffrage, especially on local and educational matters, spread more and more. Wyoming, Colorado, Idaho, and Utah women voted upon exactly the same terms as men. In Idaho women sat in the legislature. There was much agitation for minority representation. Illinois set an example by the experiment of cumulative voting in the election of lower house members of the legislature.

Nearly everywhere at the South constitutional reform involved negro disfranchisement. The blacks were numerous, but their rule meant ruin. It was easy for the whites to keep them in check, as had been done for years, by bribery and threats, supplemented, when necessary, by flogging and the shotgun. But this gave to the rising generation of white men the worst possible sort of a political education. The system was too barbarous to continue. What meaning could free institutions have for young voters who had never in all their lives seen an election carried save by these vicious means! New constitutions which should legally

eliminate most of the negro vote were the alternative.

In Florida, Alabama, Tennessee, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Georgia, North and South Carolina, proof of having paid taxes or poll-taxes was (as in some northern and western States) made an indispensable prerequisite to voting, either alone or as an alternative for an educational qualification. Virginia used this policy until 1882 and resumed it again in 1902, cutting off such as had not paid or had failed to preserve or bring to the polls their receipts. Many States surrounded registration and voting with complex enactments. An educational qualification, often very elastic, sometimes the voter's alternative for a tax-receipt, was resorted to by Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Tennessee, and South Carolina. Georgia in 1898 rejected such a device. Alabama hesitated, jealous lest illiterate whites should lose their votes. But, after the failure of one resolution for a convention, this State, too, upon the stipulation that the new constitution should

disfranchise no white voter and that it should be submitted to the people for ratification, not promulgated directly by its authors as was done in South Carolina, Louisiana, and later in Virginia and Delaware, consented to a revision, which was ratified at the polls November, 1901, not escaping censure for its drastic thoroughness. Its distinctive feature was the "good character clause," whereby an appointment board in each county registers "all voters under the present [previous] law" who are veterans or the lawful descendants of such, and "all who are of good character and understand the duties and obligations of citizenship."

In the above line of constitution-framing, whose problem was to steer between the Scylla of the Fifteenth Amendment and the Charybdis of negro domination, viz., legally abridge the negro vote so as to insure Caucasian supremacy at the polls, Mississippi led. The "Mississippi plan," originating, it is believed, in the brain of Senator James Z. George, had for its main features a

registry tax and an educational qualification, all adjustable to practical exigencies. Each voter must pay a poll-tax of at least $2.00 and never to exceed $3.00, producing to the election overseers satisfactory evidence of having paid such poll and all other legal taxes. He must be registered "as provided by law" and "be able to read any section of the constitution of the State, to understand the same when read to him, or to give a reasonable interpretation thereof." In municipal elections electors were required to have "such additional qualifications as might be prescribed by law."

This constitution was attacked as not having been submitted to the people for ratification and as violating the Act of Congress readmitting Mississippi; but the State supreme court sustained it, and was confirmed in this by the United States Supreme Court in dealing with the similar Louisiana constitution.

As a spur to negro education the Mississippi constitution worked well. The Mississippi negroes who got their names on the

voting list rose from 9,036 in 1892 to 16,965 in 1895. This result of the "plan" did not deter South Carolina from adopting it. Dread of negro domination haunted the Palmetto State the more in proportion as her white population, led by the enterprising Benjamin R. Tillman, who became governor and then senator, got control and set aside the "Bourbons."

Benjamin R. Tillman

So early as 1882 South Carolina passed a registration act which, amended in 1893 and 1894, compelled registration some four months before ordinary elections and required registry certificates to be produced at the polls. Other laws made the road to the ballot-box a labyrinth wherein not only most negroes but some whites were lost. The multiple ballot-boxes alone were a Chinese puzzle. This act was attacked

as repugnant to the State and to the federal constitution. On May 8, 1895, Judge Goff of the United States Circuit Court declared it unconstitutional and enjoined the State from taking further action under it. But in June the Circuit Court of Appeals reversed Judge Goff and dissolved the injunction, leaving the way open for a convention.

The convention met on September 10th and adjourned on December 4, 1895. By the new constitution the Mississippi plan was to be followed until January 1, 1898. Any male citizen could be registered who was able to read a section of the constitution or to satisfy the election officers that he understood it when read to him. Those thus registered were to remain voters for life. After the date named applicants for registry must be able both to read and to write any section of the constitution or to show tax-receipts for poll-tax and for taxes on at least $300 worth of property. The property and the intelligence qualification each met with strenuous opposition, but it

was thought that neither alone would serve the purpose.

The Louisiana constitution of 1898, in place of the Mississippi "understanding" clause or the Alabama "good character" clause, enacted the celebrated "grandfather" clause. The would-be voter must be able to read and write English or his native tongue, or own property assessed at $300 or more; but any citizen who was a voter on January 1, 1867, or his son or his grandson, or any person naturalized prior to January 1, 1898, if applying for registration before September 1, 1898, might vote, notwithstanding both illiteracy and poverty. Separate registration lists were provided for whites and blacks, and a longer term of residence required in State, county, parish, and precinct before voting than by the constitution of 1879.

North Carolina adopted her suffrage amendment in 1900. It lengthened the term of residence before registration and enacted both educational qualification and prepayment of poll-tax, only exempting from

this tax those entitled to vote January 1, 1867. In 1902 Virginia adopted an instrument with the "understanding" clause for use until 1904, hedging the suffrage after that date by a poll-tax. Application for registration must be in the applicant's handwriting, written in the presence of the registrar.

White solidarity yielding with time, there were heard in the Carolinas, Alabama, and Louisiana, loud allegations, not always unfounded, that this side or that had availed itself of negro votes to make up a deficit or turned the enginery of vote suppression against its opponents' white supporters.

Most States which overthrew negro suffrage seemed glad to think of the new régime as involving no perjury, fraud, violence, or lese-constitution. Some of Alabama's spokesmen were of a different temper, paying scant heed to the federal questions involved. "The constitution of '75," they said, "recognized the Fifteenth Amendment, which Alabama never adopted, and guaranteed the negro all the rights of suffrage the white

man enjoys. The new constitution omits that section. Under its suffrage provisions the white man will rule for all time in Alabama."

The North, once ablaze with zeal for the civil and political rights of the southern negro, heard the march of this exultant southern crusade with equanimity, with indifference, almost with sympathy. Perfunctory efforts were made in Congress to secure investigation of negro disfranchisement, but they evoked feeble response.

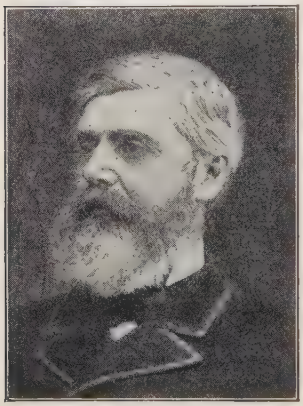
CHAPTER II.

THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN OF 1888

In looking forward to the presidential campaign of 1888 the Democracy had no difficulty in selecting its leader or its slogan. The custom, almost like law, of renominating a presidential incumbent at the end of his first term, pointed to Mr. Cleveland's candidacy, as did the considerable success of his administration in quelling factions and in silencing enemies. At the same time reform for a lower tariff, with which cause he had boldly identified himself, was marked anew as

Grover Cleveland.
Photograph copyrighted by C. M. Bell.

a main article of the Democratic creed. The nomination of Allen G. Thurman for Vice-President brought to the ticket what its head seemed to lack—popularity among the people of the West—and did much to hearten all such Democrats as insisted upon voting a ticket free from all taint of mugwumpery.



W. Q. Gresham.

The attitude of the Democratic party being favorable to tariff reduction, the Republicans must perforce raise the banner of high protection; but public opinion did not forestall the convention in naming the Republican standard-bearer. The convention met in Chicago. At first John Sherman of Ohio received 229 votes; Walter Q. Gresham of Indiana, 111; Chauncey M. Depew of New York, 99; and Russell A. Alger of Michigan, 84. Harrison began with 80; Blaine had

but 35. After the third ballot Depew withdrew his name. On the fourth, New York and Wisconsin joined the Harrison forces. A stampede of the convention for Blaine was expected, but did not come, being hindered in part by the halting tenor of despatches received from the Plumed Knight, then beyond sea. After the fifth ballot two cablegrams were received from Blaine, requesting his friends to discontinue voting for him. Two ballots more having been taken, Allison, who had been receiving a considerable vote, withdrew. The eighth ballot nominated Harrison, and the name of Levi P. Morton, of New York, was at once placed beneath his on the ticket.

Levi P. Morton.

Mr. Harrison was the grandson of President William Henry Harrison, great-grandson, therefore, of Governor Benjamin

Harrison, of Virginia, the ardent revolutionary patriot, signer of the Declaration of Independence. An older scion of the

Benjamin Harrison.

family had served as major-general in Cromwell's army and been executed for signing the death-warrant of King Charles I. The Republican candidate was born on

a farm at North Bend, Ohio, August 20, 1833. The boy's earliest education was acquired in a log schoolhouse. He afterward attended Miami University, in Ohio, where he graduated at the age of nineteen. The next year he was admitted to the bar. In 1854 he married, and opened a law office in Indianapolis. In 1860 he became Reporter of Decisions to the Indiana Supreme Court. When the civil war broke out, obeying the spirit that in his grandfather had won at Tippecanoe and the Thames, young Harrison recruited a regiment, of which he was soon commissioned colonel. Gallant services under Sherman at Resaca and Peach Tree Creek brought him the brevet of brigadier. After his return from war, owing to his high character, his lineage, his fine war record, his power as a speaker, and his popularity in a pivotal State, he was a prominent figure in politics, not only in Indiana, but, more and more, nationally. In 1876 he ran for the Indiana Governorship, but was defeated by a small margin. In 1880 he was chairman of the

Indiana delegation to the Republican National Convention. In 1881 he was elected United States Senator, declining an offer of a seat in Garfield's Cabinet. From 1880, when Indiana presented his name to the Republican National Convention, General Harrison was, in the West, constantly thought of as a presidential possibility. Eclipsed by Blaine in 1884, he came forward again in 1888, this time to win.

In the East General Harrison was much underrated. Papers opposing his election fondly cartooned him wearing "Grandfather's hat," as if family connection alone recommended him. It was a great mistake. The grandson had all the grandsire's strong qualities and many besides. He was a student and a thinker. His character was absolutely irreproachable. His information was exact, large, and always ready for use. His speeches had ease, order, correctness, and point. With the West he was particularly strong, an element of availability which Cleveland lacked. In the Senate he had won renown both as a debater and as

a sane adviser. As a consistent protectionist he favored restriction upon Chinese immigration and prohibition against the importation of contract labor. He upheld all efforts for reform in the civil service and for strengthening the navy.

In the presidential campaign of 1888 personalities had little place. Instead, there was active discussion of party principles and policies. The tariff issue was of course prominent. A characteristic piece of enginery in the contest was the political club, which now, for the first time in our history, became a recognized force. The National Association of Democratic Clubs comprised some 3,000 units, numerous auxiliary reform and tariff reform clubs being active on the same side. The Republican League, corresponding to the Democratic Association, boasted, by August, 1887, 6,500 clubs, with a million voters on their rolls. Before election day Indiana alone had 1,100 Republican clubs and New York 1,400.

During most of the campaign Demo

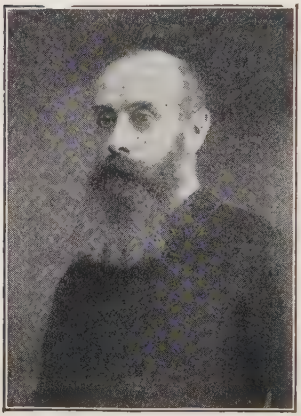
cratic success was freely predicted and seemed assured. Yet from the first forces were in exercise which threatened a contrary result. Federal patronage helped the administration less than was expected, while it nerved the opposition. The Republicans had a force of earnest and harmonious workers. Of the multitude, on the other hand, who in 1884 had aided to achieve victory for the Democracy, few, of course, had received the rewards which they deemed due them. In vain did office-holders contribute toil and money while that disappointed majority were so slow and spiritless in rallying to the party's summons, and so many of them even hostile. The zeal of honest Democrats was stricken by what Gail Hamilton wittily called "the upas bloom" of civil service reform, which the President still displayed upon his lapel. To a large number of ardent civil service reformers who had originally voted for Cleveland this decoration now seemed so wilted that, more in indignation than in hope, they went over to Harrison. The

public at large resented the loss which the service had suffered through changes in the civil list. Harrison, without much of a record either to belie or to confirm his words, at least commended and espoused the reform.

Democratic blunders thrust the sectional issue needlessly to the fore. Mr. Cleveland's willingness to return to their respective States the Confederate flags captured by Union regiments in the civil war; his fishing trip on Memorial Day; the choice of Mr. Mills, a Texan, to lead the tariff fight in Congress; and the prominence of southerners among the Democratic campaign orators at the North, were themes of countless diatribes.

A clever Republican device, known as "the Murchison letter," did a great deal to impress thoughtless voters that Mr. Cleveland was "un-American." The incident was dramatic and farcical to a degree. The Murchison letter, which interested the entire country for two or three weeks, purported to come from a perplexed Eng-

lishman, addressing the British Minister at Washington, Lord Sackville-West. It sought counsel of Her Majesty's representative, as the "fountainhead of knowledge," upon "the mysterious subject" how best to serve England in voting at the approaching American election. The seeker after light recounted President Cleveland's kindness to England in not enforcing the retaliatory act then recently passed by Congress as its ultimatum in the fisheries dispute, his soundness on the free trade question, and his hostility to the "dynamite schools of Ireland." The writer set Mr. Harrison down as a painful contrast to the President. He was "a high-tariff man, a believer on the American side of all questions, and undoubtedly an enemy to British interests generally."



Lord L. S. Sackville-West.

But the inquirer professed alarm at Cleveland's message on the fishery question which had just been sent to Congress, and wound up with the query "whether Mr. Cleveland's policy is temporary only, and whether he will, as soon as he secures another term of four years in the presidency, suspend it for one of friendship and free trade."

The Minister replied:

"SIR:—I am in receipt of your letter of the 4th inst., and beg to say that I fully appreciate the difficulty in which you find yourself in casting your vote. You are probably aware that any political party which openly favored the mother country at the present moment would lose popularity, and that the party in power is fully aware of the fact. The party, however, is, I believe, still desirous of maintaining friendly relations with Great Britain, and still desirous of settling questions with Canada which have been, unfortunately, reopened since the retraction of the treaty by the Republican majority in the Senate and by the President's message to which you allude. All allowances must, therefore, be made for the political situation as regards the Presidential election thus created. It is, however, impossible to predict the course which President Cleveland may pursue in

the matter of retaliation should he be elected; but there is every reason to believe that, while upholding the position he has taken, he will manifest a spirit of conciliation in dealing with the question involved in his message. I enclose an article from the New York 'Times' of August 22d, and remain yours faithfully,

"L. S. SACKVILLE-WEST."

This correspondence, published on October 24th, took instant and universal effect. The President at first inclined to ignore the incident, but soon yielded to the urgency of his managers, and, to keep "the Irish vote" from slipping away, asked for the minister's recall. Great Britain refusing this, the minister's passports were delivered him. The act was vain and worse. Without availing to parry the enemy's thrust, it incurred not only the resentment of the English Government, but the disapproval of the Administration's soberest friends at home.

Influences with which practical politicians were familiar had their bearing upon the outcome. In New York State, where occurred the worst tug of war, Governor Hill

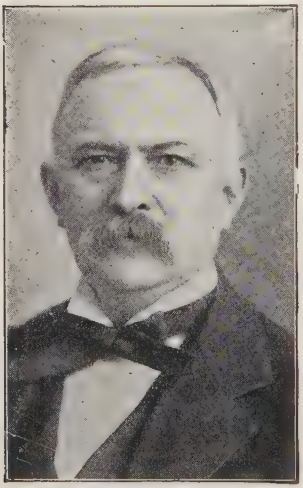
and his friends, while boasting their democracy, were widely believed to connive at the trading of Democratic votes for Harrison in return for Republican votes for Hill. At any rate, New York State was carried for both.

It is unfortunately necessary to add that the 1888 election was most corrupt. The campaign was estimated to have cost the two parties $6,000,000. Assessments on office-holders, as well as other subsidies, replenished the Democrats' campaign treasury; while the manufacturers of the country, who had been pretty close four years before, now regarding their interest and even their honor as assailed, generously contributed often as the Republican hat went round.

In Indiana, Mr. Harrison's home State, no resource was left untried. The National Republican Committee wrote the party managers in that State: "Divide the floaters into blocks of five, and put a trusted man with necessary funds in charge of these five, and make him responsible that none

get away, and that all vote our ticket." This mandate the workers faithfully obeyed.

So far as argument had weight the election turned mainly upon the tariff issue. The Republicans held that protection was on trial for its life. Many Democrats cherished the very same view, only they denounced the prisoner at the bar as a culprit, not a martyr. They inveighed against protection as pure robbery. They accused the tariff of causing Trusts, against which several bills had recently been introduced in Congress. Democratic extremists proclaimed that Republicans slavishly served the rich and fiendishly ground the faces of the poor. Even moderate Democrats, who simply urged that protective rates should



Joseph B. Foraker.

be reduced, more often than otherwise supported their proposals with out and out free trade arguments. As to President Cleveland himself no one could tell whether or not he was a free trader, but his discussions of the tariff read like Cobden Club tracts. The Mills bill, which passed the House in the Fiftieth Congress, would have been more a tariff for revenue than in any sense protective. Republican orators and organs therefore pictured "British free trade" as the dire, certain sequel of the Cleveland policy if carried out, and, whether convinced by the argument or startled by the ado of Harrison's supporters, people, to be on the safe side, voted to uphold the "American System."

More than eleven million ballots were cast at the election, yet so closely balanced were the parties that a change of 10,000 votes in Indiana and New York, both of which went for Harrison, would have re-elected Cleveland. As it was, his popular vote of 5,540,000 exceeded by 140,000 that of Harrison, which numbered 5,400,000.

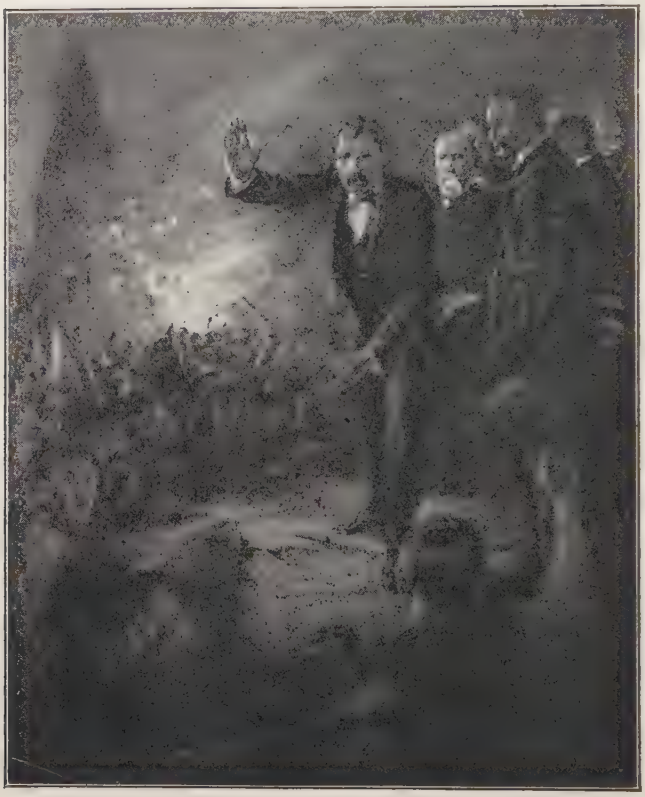
Besides holding the Senate the Republicans won a face majority of ten in the House, subsequently increased by unseating and seating. They were thus in control of all branches of the general government.

CHAPTER III.

MR. HARRISON'S ADMINISTRATION

THE new President, of course, renounced his predecessor's policy upon the tariff, but continued it touching the navy. He advocated steamship subsidies, reform in electoral laws, and such amendment to the immigration laws as would effectively exclude undesirable foreigners.

A chief effect of the Kearney movement in California, culminating in the California constitution of 1879, was intense opposition throughout the Pacific States to any further admission of the Chinese. The constitution named forbade the employment of Chinese by the State or by any corporation doing business therein. This hostility spread eastward, and, in spite of interested capitalists and disinterested philanthropists, shaped all subsequent Chinese legislation in Con-



"The Chinese must go!"

Denis Kearney addressing the workingmen on the night of October 29, on Nob Hill, San Francisco.

gress. The pacific spirit of the Burlingame treaty in 1868, shown also by President Hayes in vetoing the Anti-Chinese bill of 1878, died out more and more.

A law passed in 1881 provided that Chinese immigration might be regulated, limited, or suspended by the United States. A bill prohibiting such immigration for twenty years was vetoed by President Arthur, but another reducing the period to ten years became law in 1882. In 1888 this was amended to prohibit the return of Chinese laborers who had been in the United States but had left. In 1892 was passed the Geary law re-enacting for ten years more the prohibitions then in force, only making them more rigid. Substantially the same enactments were renewed in 1902.

Mr. Harrison wished this policy of a closed state put in force against Europe as well as against Asia. An act of Congress passed August 2, 1882, prohibited the landing from any country of any would-be immigrant who was a convict, lunatic, idiot, or unable to take care of himself. This law, like the supplementary one of March 3, 1887, proved inadequate. In 1888 American consuls represented that transatlantic steamship companies were employing un-

scrupulous brokers to procure emigrants for America, the brokerage being from three to five dollars per head, and that most emigrants were of a class utterly unfitted for citizenship.

Thomas B. Reed.

The President's urgency in this matter had little effect, the attention of Congress being early diverted to other subjects. Three great measures mainly embodied the Republican policy—the Federal Elections Bill, the McKinley Tariff Bill, and the Dependent Pensions Bill.

As Speaker of the House, Hon. Thomas B. Reed, of Maine, put through certain parliamentary innovations necessary to enact the party's will. He declined to entertain dilatory motions. More important, he ordered the clerk to register as "present and not voting," those whom he saw endeavoring by stubborn silence to break a

quorum. A majority being the constitutional quorum, theretofore, unless a majority answered to their names upon roll-call, no majority appeared of record, although the sergeant-at-arms was empowered to compel the presence of every member. As the traditional safeguard of minorities and as a compressed airbrake on majority action, silence became more powerful than words. Under the Reed theory, since adopted, that the House may, through its Speaker, determine in its own way the presence of a quorum, the Speaker's or the clerk's eye was substituted for the voice of any member in demonstrating such member's presence.

Many, not all Democrats, opposed the Reed policy as arbitrary. Mr. Evarts is said to have remarked, "Reed, you seem to think a deliberative body like a woman; if it deliberates, it is lost." On the "yeas and nays" or at any roll-call some would dodge out of sight, others break for the doors only to find them closed. A Texas member kicked down a door to make good

his escape. Yet, having calculated the scope of his authority, Mr. Reed coolly continued to count and declare quorums whenever such were present. The Democratic majority of 1893 transferred this newly discovered prerogative of the Speaker, where possible, to tellers. Now and then they employed it as artillery to fire at Mr. Reed himself, but he each time received the shot with smiles.

The cause for which the counting of quorums was invoked made it doubly odious to Democratic members. To restore the suffrage to southern negroes the Republicans proposed federal supervision of federal elections. This suggestion of a "Force Bill" rekindled sectional bitterness. One State refused to be represented at the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893, a United States marshal was murdered in Florida, a Grand Army Post was mobbed at Whitesville, Ky. Parts of the South proposed a boycott on northern goods. Many at the North favored white domination in the South rather than a return of

the carpet-bag régime, regarding the situation a just retribution for Republicans' high-handed procedure in enfranchising black ignorance. Sober Republicans foresaw that a force law would not break up the solid South, but perpetuate it. The House, however, passed the bill. In the Senate it was killed only by "filibuster" tactics, free silver Republican members joining members from the South to prevent the adoption of clôture.

A Treasury surplus of about $97,000,000 (in October, 1888) tempted the Fifty-first Congress to expenditures then deemed vast, though often surpassed since. The Fifty-first became known as the "Billion Dollar Congress." What drew most heavily upon the national strong-box was the Dependent Pensions Act. In this culminated a course of legislation repeating with similar results that which began early in the history of our country, occasioning the adage that "The Revolutionary claimant never dies." By 1820 the experiment entailed an expenditure of a little over twenty-five cents per capita of our population.

In 1880 Congress was induced to endow each pensioner with a back pension equal to what his pension would have been had he applied on the date of receiving his injury. Under the old law pension outlay had been at high tide in 1871, standing then at $34,443,894. Seven years later it shrank to $27,137,019. In 1883 it exceeded $66,000,000; in 1889 it approached $88,000,000. But the act of 1890, similar to one vetoed by President Cleveland three years before, carried the pension figure to $106,493,000 in 1890, to $118,584,000 in 1891, and to about $159,000,000 in 1893. It offered pensions to all soldiers and sailors incapacitated for manual labor who had served the Union ninety days, or, if they were dead, to their widows, children, or dependent parents. 311,567 pension certificates were issued during the fiscal year 1891–1892.

While thus increasing outgo, the Fifty-first Congress planned to diminish income, not by lowering tariff rates, as the last Administration had recommended, but by

pushing them up to or toward the prohibitive point. The McKinley Act, passed October 1, 1890, made sugar, a lucrative revenue article, free, and gave a bounty to sugar producers in this country, together with a discriminating duty of one-tenth of a cent per pound on sugar imported hither from countries which paid an export bounty thereon.

The "Blaine" reciprocity feature of this act proved its most popular grace. In 1891 we entered into reciprocity agreements with Brazil, with the Dominican Republic, and with Spain for Cuba and Porto Rico. In 1892 we covenanted similarly with the United Kingdom on behalf of the British West Indies and British Guiana, and with Nicaragua, Salvador, Honduras, Guatemala and Austria-Hungary. How far our trade was thus benefited is matter of controversy. Imports from these countries were certainly much enlarged. Our exportation of flour to these lands increased, a result commonly ascribed to reciprocity, though the simultaneous increase in the

amounts of flour we sent to other countries was a third more rapid.

The international copyright law, meeting favor with the literary, was among the most conspicuous enactments of the Fifty-first Congress. An international copyright treaty had been entered into in 1886, but it did not include the United States. Two years later a bill to the same end failed in Congress. At last, on March 3, 1891, President Harrison signed an act which provided for United States copyright for any foreign author, designer, artist, or dramatist, albeit the two copies of a book, photograph, chromo, or lithograph required to be deposited with the Librarian of Congress must be printed from type set within the limits of the United States or from plates made therefrom, or from negatives or drawings on stone made within the limits of the United States or from transfers therefrom. Foreign authors, like native or naturalized, could renew their United States copyrights, and penalties were prescribed to protect these rights from infringement.

Mr. Blaine, the most eminent Republican statesman surviving, was now less conspicuous than McKinley, Lodge, and Reed, with whom, by his opposition to extreme protection and to the Force Bill, he stood at sharp variance. As Secretary of State, however, to which post President Harrison had perforce assigned him, he still drew public attention, having to deal with several awkward international complications.

David C. Hennessy.

The city of New Orleans, often tempted to appeal from bad law to anarchy, was in the spring of 1891 swept off its feet by such a temptation. Chief of Police David C. Hennessy was one night ambushed and shot to death near his home by members of the Sicilian "Mafia," a secret, oath-bound body of murderous blackmailers whom he was hunting to earth. When at

An episode of the lynching of the Italians in New Orleans. The citizens breaking down the door of the parish prison with the beam brought there the night before for that purpose.

the trial of the culprits the jury, in face of cogent evidence, acquitted six and disagreed as to the rest, red fury succeeded

white amazement. A huge mob encircled the jail, crushed in its barricaded doors, and shot or hung the trembling Italians within.

Italy forthwith sent her protest to Mr.

Old Parish Jail,
New Orleans, La.

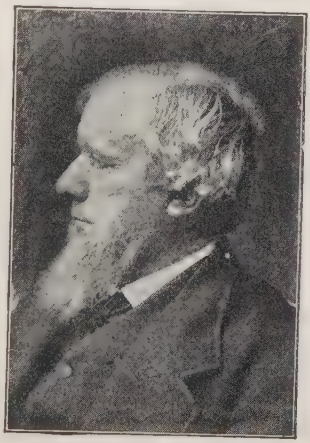
Iana Street
New Orleans La

Blaine, who expressed his horror at the deed, and urged Governor Nicholls to see the guilty brought to justice. The Italian consul at New Orleans averred that, while the victims included bad men, many of the charges against them were without founda-

tion; that the violence was foreseen and avoidable; that he had in vain besought military protection for the prisoners, and had himself, with his secretary, been assaulted and mobbed.

The Marquis di Rudini insisted on indemnity for the murdered men's families and on the instant punishment of the assassins. Secretary Blaine, not refusing indemnity in this instance, denied the right to demand the same, still more the propriety of insisting upon the instant punishment of the offenders, since the utmost that could be done at once was to institute judicial proceedings, which was the exclusive function of the State of Louisiana. The Italian public thought this equivocation, mean truckling to the American prejudice against Italians. Baron Fava, Italian Minister at Washington, was ordered to "affirm the inutility of his presence near a government that had no power to guarantee such justice as in Italy is administered equally in favor of citizens of all nationalities." "I do not," replied Mr. Blaine, "recognize the right of

any government to tell the United States what it shall do; we have never received orders from any foreign power and shall not begin now. It is to me," he said, "a matter of indifference what persons in Italy think of our institutions. I cannot change them, still less violate them."



A. G. Thurman.

Such judicial proceedings as could be had against the lynchers broke down completely. The Italian Minister withdrew, but his government finally accepted $25,000 indemnity for the murdered men's families.

Friction with Chile arose from the "Itata incident." Chile was torn by civil war between adherents of President Balmaceda and the "congressional party." Mr. Egan, American Minister at Santiago, rendered himself widely unpopular among Chilians

by his espousal of the President's cause. The Itata, a cruiser in the congressionalist service, was on May 6, 1891, at Egan's request, seized at San Diego, Cal., by the federal authorities, on the ground that she was about to carry a cargo of arms to the revolutionists. Escaping, she surrendered

Chilian steamer Itata in San Diego Harbor.

at her will to the United States squadron at Iquique. The congressionalists resented our interference; the Balmaceda party were angry that we interfered to so little effect. A Valparaiso mob killed two American sailors and hurt eighteen more. Chile, however, tendered a satisfactory indemnity.

In the so-called "Barrundia incident"

occurring in 1890 Americanism overshot itself. The Gautemalan refugee, General Barrundia, boarded the Pacific Mail steamer Acapulco for Salvador upon assurance that he would not be delivered to the authorities of his native land. At San José de Gautemala the Gautemala authorities sought to arrest him, and United States Minister Mizner, Consul-General Hosmer, and Commander Reiter of the United States Ship of War Ranger, concurred in advising Captain Pitts of the Acapulco that Gautemala had a right to do this. Barrundia resisted arrest and was killed. Both Mizner and Reiter were reprimanded and removed, Reiter being, however, placed in another command.

Our government's attitude in this matter was untenable. The two officials were in fact punished for having acted with admirable judgment and done each his exact duty.

One of President Harrison's earliest diplomatic acts was the treaty of 1889 with Great Britain and Germany, by which, in

conjunction with those nations, the United States established a joint protectorate over the Samoan Islands. On December 2, 1899, the three powers named agreed to a new treaty, by which the United States assumed full sovereignty over Tutuila and all the other Samoan islands east of longitude 171 degrees west from Greenwich, renouncing in favor of the other signatories all rights and claims over the remainder of the group.

In the congressional campaign of 1890 issue was squarely joined upon the neo-Republican policy. The billion dollars gone, the Force Bill, and, to a less extent, the McKinley tariff, especially its sugar bounty, had aroused popular resentment. The election, an unprecedented "landslide," precipitated a huge Democratic majority into the House of Representatives. Every community east of the Pacific slope felt the movement. Pennsylvania elected a Democratic governor.

President Harrison being rowed ashore at foot of Wall Street, New York, April 29, 1889.

CHAPTER IV.

NON-POLITICAL EVENTS OF PRESIDENT HARRISON'S TERM

PRESIDENT HARRISON'S quadrennium was a milestone between two generations. Memorials on every hand to the heroes of the Civil War shocked one with the sense that they and the events they molded were already of the past. Logan, Arthur, Sheridan, and Hancock had died. In 1891 General Sherman and Admiral Porter fell within a day of each other. General Joseph E. Johnston, who had been a pall-bearer at the funeral of each, rejoined them in a month.

This presidential term was pivotal in another way. The centennial anniversary of Washington's inauguration as President fell on April 30, 1889. In observance of the occasion President Harrison followed the itinerary of one hundred years before,

from the Governor's mansion in New Jersey to the foot of Wall Street, in New York City, to old St. Paul's Church, on Broadway, and to the site where the first Chief Magistrate first took the oath of office. Three days devoted to the commemorative exercises were a round of naval, military, and industrial parades, with music, oratory, pageantry, and festivities. For this Centennial Whittier composed an ode. The venerable Rev. S. F. Smith, who had written "America" fifty-seven years before, was also inspired by the occasion to pen a Century Hymn, and to add to "America" the stanza:

"Our joyful hearts to-day,
Their grateful tribute pay,
Happy and free,
After our toils and fears,
After our blood and tears,
Strong with our hundred years,
O God, to Thee."

At the opening of this its second century of existence the nation was confronted by entirely new issues. Bitterness between

Washington Inaugural Celebration, 1889, New York. Parade passing Union Square on Broadway.

North and South, spite of its brief recrudescence during the pendency of the Force Bill, was fast dying out. At the unveiling of the noble monument to Robert E. Lee at Richmond, in May, 1890, while, of course, Confederate leaders were warmly cheered and the Confederate flag was displayed, various circumstances made it clear that this zeal was not in derogation of the restored Union.

The last outbreaks of sectional animosity related to Jefferson Davis, in whom, both to the North and to the South, the ghost of the Lost Cause had become curiously personified. The question whether or not he was a traitor was for years zealously debated in Congress and outside. The general amnesty after the war had excepted Davis. When a bill was before Congress giving suitable pensions to Mexican War soldiers and sailors, an amendment was carried, amid much bitterness, excluding the ex-president of the Confederacy from the benefits thereof. Northerners naturally glorified their triumph in the war as a victory for the Con-

Unveiling of the Equestrian Statue of Robert E. Lee, May 29, 1890.

stitution, nor could they wholly withstand the inclination to question the motives of the secession leaders. Southerners, how-

ever loyal now to the Union, were equally bold in asserting that, since in 1861 the question of the nature of the Union had not been settled, Mr. Davis and the rest might attempt secession, not as foes of the Constitution, but as, in their own thought, its most loyal friends and defenders.

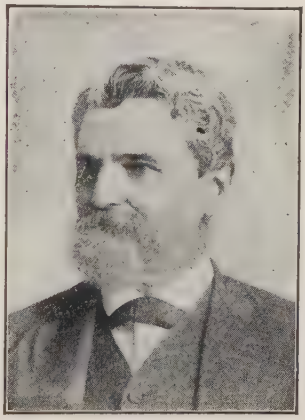
Henry W. Grady.

By 1890 the days were passed when denunciation of Davis or of the South electrified the North, nor did the South on its part longer waste time in impotent resentments or regrets. The brilliant and fervid utterances on "The New South" by editor Henry W. Grady, of the Atlanta *Constitution*, went home to the hearts of Northerners, doing much to allay sectional feeling. Grady died, untimely, in 1889, lamented nowhere more sincerely than at the North

When Federal intervention occurred to put down the notorious Louisiana Lottery, the South in its gratitude almost forgot that there had been a war. This lottery had been incorporated in 1868 for twenty-five years. In 1890 it was estimated to receive a full third of the mail matter coming to New Orleans, with a business of $30,000 a day in postal notes and money orders. As the monster in 1890, approaching its charter-term, bestirred itself for a new lease of life, it found itself barred from the mails by Congress.

And this was, in effect, its banishment from the State and country. It could still ply its business through the express companies, provided Louisiana would abrogate the constitutional prohibition of lotteries it had enacted to take effect in 1893. For a twenty-five year re-enfranchisement the impoverished State was offered the princely sum of a million and a quarter dollars a year. This tempting bait was supplemented by influences brought to bear upon the venal section of the press and of the legislature.

A proposal for the necessary constitutional change was vetoed by Governor Nicholls. Having pushed their bill once more through the House, the lottery lobby contended that a proposal for a constitutional amendment did not require the governor's signature, but only to be submitted to the people, a position which was affirmed by the State Supreme Court. A fierce battle followed in the State, the "anti" Democrats of the country parishes, in fusion with Farmers' Alliance men, fighting the "pro" Democrats of New Orleans. The "Antis" and the Alliance triumphed. Effort for a constitutional amendment was given up, and Governor Foster was permitted to sign an act prohibiting, after December 31, 1893, all sale of lottery tickets and all lottery drawings or schemes throughout the State of



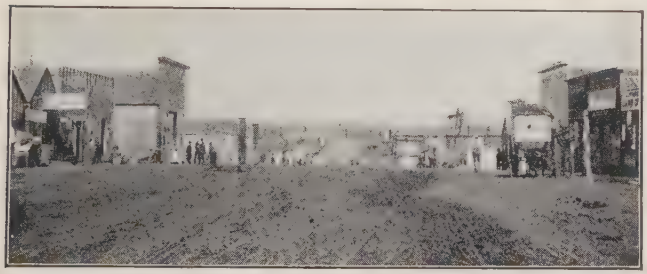
Francis T. Nicholls.

Louisiana. In January, 1894, the Lottery Company betook itself to exile on the island of Cuanaja, in the Bay of Honduras, a seat which the Honduras Government had granted it, together with a monopoly of the lottery business for fifty years.

Matters in the West drew attention. The pressure of white population, rude and resistless as a glacier, everywhere forcing the barriers of Indian reservations, now concentrated upon the part of Indian territory known as Oklahoma. This large tract the Seminole Indians had sold to the Government, to be exclusively colonized by Indians and freedmen. In 1888–89, as it had become clearly impossible to shut out white settlers, Congress appropriated $4,000,000 to extinguish the trust upon which the land was held. By December the newly opened territory boasted 60,000 denizens, eleven schools, nine churches, and three daily and five weekly newspapers. In a few years it was vying for statehood with Arizona and New Mexico.

In addition to the prospect of thus losing

A general view of the town on April 24, 1889, the second day after the opening



A view along Oklahoma Avenue on May 10, 1889.

Oklahoma Avenue as it appeared on May 10, 1893, during Governor Noble's visit

THE BUILDING OF A WESTERN TOWN, GUTHRIE, OKLAHOMA

all their lands, the Indians were, in the winter of 1890, famine-stricken through failure of Government rations. With little hope of justice or revenge in their own strength, the aggrieved savages sought supernatural solace. The so-called "Messiah Craze" seized upon Sioux, Cheyennes, Arapahoes, Osages, Missouris, and Seminoles. Ordinarily at feud with one another, these tribes all now united in ghost dances, looking for the Great Spirit or his Representative to appear with a high hand and an outstretched arm to bury the whites and their works deep underground, when the prairie should once more thunder with the gallop of buffalo and wild horses. Southern negroes caught the infection. Even the scattered Aztecs of Mexico gathered around the ruins of their ancient temple at Cholula and waited a Messiah who should pour floods of lava from Popocatapetl, inundating all mortals not of Aztec race.

While frontiersmen trembled lest massacres should follow these Indian orgies, people in the East were shuddering over the

particulars of a real catastrophe indescribably awful in nature. On a level some two hundred and seventy-five feet lower than a certain massive reservoir, lay the city of Johnstown, Pa. The last of May, 1889, heavy rains having fallen, the reservoir dam burst, letting a veritable mountain of water rush down upon the town, destroying houses, factories, bridges, and thousands of lives. Relief work, begun at once and liberally supplied with money from nearly every city in the Union and from many foreign contributors, repaired as far as might be the immediate consequences of the disaster.

Along with the Johnstown Flood will be remembered in the annals of Pennsylvania the Homestead strike, in 1892, against the Carnegie Steel Company, occasioned by a cut in wages. The Amalgamated Steel and Iron Workers sought to intercede against the reduction, but were refused recognition. Preparing to supplant the disaffected workmen with non-union men, a force of Pinkerton detectives was brought

Main Street, Johnstown, after the flood.

up the river in armored barges. Fierce fighting ensued. Bullets and cannon-balls rained upon the barges, and receptacles full of burning oil were floated down stream. The assailants wished to withdraw, repeatedly raising the white flag, but it was each

Burning of Barges during Homestead Strike

time shot down. Eleven strikers were killed; of the attacking party from thirty to forty fell, seven dead. When at last the Pinkertons were forced to give up their arms and ammunition and retire, a body-guard of strikers sought to shield them, but so violent was the rage which they had provoked that, spite of their escort, the mob brutally attacked them. Order

was restored only when the militia appeared.

This bloodshed was not wholly in vain. Congress made the private militia system,

The Carnegie Steel Works. Showing the shield used by the strikers when firing the cannon and watching the Pinkerton men. Homestead strike.

the evil consequences of which were so manifest in these tragedies, a subject of investigation, while public sentiment more strongly than ever reprobated, on the one hand, violence by strikers or strike sympa-

thizers, and, on the other, the employment of armed men, not officers of the law, to defend property.

That, however, other causes than these might endanger the peace was shown about the same time at certain Tennessee mines

Inciting miners to attack Fort Anderson. The grove between Briceville and Coal Creek.

where prevailed the bad system of farming out convicts to compete with citizen-miners. Business being slack, deserving workmen were put on short time. Resenting this, miners at Tracy City, Inman, and Oliver Springs summarily removed convicts from

the mines, several of these escaping. At Coal Creek the rioters were resisted by Colonel Anderson and a small force. They raised a flag of truce, answering which in person, Colonel Anderson was commanded,

State troops and miners at Briceville, Tenn.

on threat of death, to order a surrender. He refused. A larger force soon arrived, routed the rioters, and rescued the colonel.

The year 1891 formed a crisis in the history of Mormonism in America. For a long time after their settlement in the

"Great American Desert," as it was then called, Mormons repudiated United States authority. Gentile pioneers and recreant saints they dealt with summarily, witness the Mountain Meadow massacre of 1857, where

The Mormon Temple at Salt Lake City.

120 victims were murdered in cold blood after surrendering their arms.

Anti-polygamy bills were introduced in Congress in 1855 and 1859. In 1862 such a bill was made law. Seven years later the enforcement of it became possible by the building of a trans-continental railroad and

the influx of gentiles drawn by the discovery of precious metals in Utah. In 1874 the Poland Act, and in 1882 the Edmunds Act, introduced reforms. Criminal law was now much more efficiently executed against Mormons. In 1891 the Mormon officials pledged their church's obedience to the laws against plural marriages and unlawful cohabitation.

America was quick and generous in her response to the famine cry that in 1891 rose from 30,000,000 people in Russia. Over a domain of nearly a half million square miles in that land there was no cow or goat for milk, nor a horse left strong enough to draw a hearse. Old grain stores were exhausted, crops a failure, and land a waste. Typhus, scurvy, and smallpox were awfully prevalent. To relieve this misery, our people, besides individual gifts, despatched four ship-loads of supplies gathered from twenty-five States. In values given New York led, Minnesota was a close second, and Nebraska third. America became a household word among the Russians even to the remotest interior.

CHAPTER V.

THE WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION

THE thought of celebrating by a world's fair the fourth centennial of Columbus's im-

Columbian Celebration, New York Apri 28 1893 Parade passing Fifth Avenue Hotel.

mortal deed anticipated the anniversary by several years. Congress organized the ex-

position so early as 1890, fixing Chicago as its seat. That city was commodious, central, typically American. A National Commission was appointed; also an Executive Committee, a Board of Reference and Control, a Chicago Local Board, and a Board of Lady Managers.

The task of preparation was herculean. Jackson Park had to be changed from a dreary lakeside swamp into a lovely city, with roads, lawns, groves and flowers, canals, lagoons and bridges, a dozen palaces, and ten score other edifices. An army of workmen, also fire, police, ambulance, hospital, and miscellaneous service was organized.

Wednesday, October 21 (Old Style, October 12), 1892, was observed as Columbus Day, marking the four hundredth anniversary of Columbus's discovery. A reception was held in the Chicago Auditorium, followed by dedication of the buildings and grounds at Jackson Park and an award of medals to artists and architects. Many cities held corresponding observances. New York chose October 12th for the anniver-

sary. On April 26–28, 1893, again, the eastern metropolis was enlivened by grand parades honoring Columbus. In the naval display, April 22d, thirty-five war ships and more than 10,000 men of divers flags, took part.

Between Columbus Day and the opening

Pinta, Santa Maria, Nina,

Lying in the North River, New York. The caravels which crossed from Spain to be present at the World's Fair at Chicago.

of the Exposition came the presidential election of 1892. Ex-President Cleveland had been nominated on the first ballot, in spite of the Hill delegation sent from his home State to oppose. Harrison, too, had overcome Platt, Hill's Republican counter-

part in New York, and in Pennsylvania had preferred John Wanamaker to Quay. But Harrison was not "magnetic" like Blaine. With what politicians call the "boy" element of a party, he was especially weak. Stalwarts complained that he was ready to profit by their services, but abandoned them under fire. The circumstances connected with the civil service that so told against Cleveland four years before, now hurt Harrison equally. Though no doubt sincerely favoring reform, he had, like his predecessor, succumbed to the machine in more than one instance.

The campaign was conducted in good humor and without personalities. Owing to Australian voting and to a more sensitive public opinion, the election was much purer than that of 1888. The Republicans defended McKinley protection, boasting of it as sure, among other things, to transfer the tin industry from Wales to America. Free sugar was also made prominent. Some cleavage was now manifest between East and West upon the tariff issue. In the

West "reciprocity" was the Republican slogan; in the East, "protection." Near the Atlantic, Democrats contented themselves with advocacy of "freer raw materials"; those by the Mississippi denounced "Republican protection" as fraud and robbery. If the platform gave color to the charge that Democrats wished "British free trade," Mr. Cleveland's letter of acceptance was certainly conservative.

Populism, emphasizing State aid to industry, particularly in behalf of the agricultural class, made great gains in the election. General Weaver was its presidential nominee. In Colorado, Idaho, Kansas, and Wyoming most Democrats voted for him. Partial fusion of the sort prevailed also in North Dakota, Nevada, Minnesota, and Oregon. Weaver carried all these States save the two last named. In Louisiana and Alabama Republicans fused with Populists. The Tillman movement in South Carolina, nominally Democratic, was akin to Populism, but was complicated with the color question, and later with novel liquor legisla-

tion. It was a revolt of the ordinary whites from the traditional dominance of the aristocracy. In Alabama a similar movement, led by Reuben F. Kolb, was defeated, as he thought, by vicious manipulation of votes in the Black Belt.

The Manufactures and Liberal Arts Building, seen from the southwest.

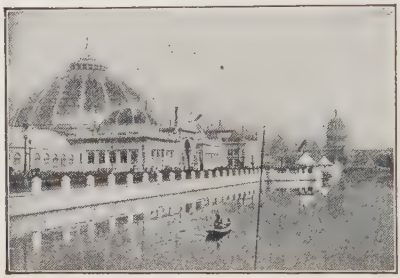
Of the total four hundred and forty-four electoral votes Cleveland received two hundred and seventy-seven, a plurality of one hundred and thirty-two. The Senate now held forty-four Democrats, thirty-seven Republicans, and four Populists; the House two hundred and sixteen Democrats, one hundred and twenty-five Republicans, and eleven Populists.

Early on the opening day of the Exposition, May 1, 1893, the Chief Magistrate of the nation sat beside Columbus's descendant, the Duke of Veragua. Patient multitudes were waiting for the gates of Jackson

Park to swing. "It only remains for you, Mr. President," said the Director-General, concluding his address, "if in your opinion the Exposition here presented is commensurate in dignity with what the world should expect of our great country, to direct that it shall be opened to the public. When you touch this magic key the ponderous machinery will start in its revolutions and the activity of the Exposition will begin." After a brief response Mr. Cleveland laid his finger on the key. A tumult of applause mingled with the jubilant melody of Handel's "Hallelujah Chorus." Myriad wheels revolved, waters gushed and sparkled, bells pealed and artillery thundered, while flags and gonfalons fluttered forth.

The Exposition formed a huge quadrilateral upon the westerly shore of Lake Michigan, from whose waters one passed by the North Inlet into the North Pond, or by the South Inlet into the South Pond. These united with the central Grand Basin in the peerless Court of Honor. The grounds and buildings were of surpassing

magnitude and splendor. Interesting but simple features were the village of States, the Nations' tabernacles, lying almost under the guns of the fac-simile battleship Illinois, and the pigmy caravels, Nina, Pinta, and Santa Maria, named and modelled after those that bore Columbus to the New World. These, like their originals, had fared from Spain across the Atlantic, and then had come by the St. Lawrence and the Lakes, without portage, to their moorings at Chicago.



Horticultural Building, with Illinois Building in the background.

Near the centre of the ground stood the Government Building, with a ready-made look out of keeping with the other architecture. Critics declared it the only discordant note in the symphony. Looking from the Illinois Building across the North Pond, one saw the Art Palace, of pure Ionic

style, perfectly proportioned, restful to view, contesting with the Administration Building for the architectural laurels of the Fair. South of the Illinois Building rose the Woman's Building, and next Horticultural Hall, with dome high enough to shelter the tallest palms. The Manufactures and Liberal Arts Building, of magnificent proportions, did not tyrannize over its neighbors, though thrice the size of St. Peter's at Rome, and able easily to have sheltered the Vendome Column. It was severely classical, with a long perspective of arches, broken only at the corners and in the centre by portals fit to immortalize Alexander's triumphs.

The artistic jewel of the Exposition was the "Court of Honor." Down the Grand Basin you saw the noble statue of the Republic, in dazzling gold, with the peristyle beyond, a forest of columns surmounted by the Columbus quadriga. On the right hand stood the Agricultural Building, upon whose summit the "Diana" of Augustus St. Gaudens had alighted. To the left

stood the enormous Hall of Manufactures. Looking from the peristyle the eye met the Administration Building, a rare exemplification of the French school, the dome resembling that of the Hotel des Invalides in Paris.

A view toward the Peristyle from Machinery Hall.

A most unique conception was the Cold Storage Building, where a hundred tons of ice were made daily. Save for the entrance, flanked by windows, and the fifth floor, designed for an ice skating rink, its walls were blank. Four corner towers set off the fifth, which rose from the centre sheer to a height of 225 feet.

The cheering coolness of this building was destined not to last. Early in the afternoon of July 10th flames burst out from the top of the central tower. Delaying his departure until he had provided against explosion, the brave engineer barely

saved his life. Firemen were soon on hand. Sixteen of them forthwith made their way to the balcony near the blazing summit. Suddenly their retreat was cut off by a burst of fire from the base of the tower. The rope and hose parted and precipitated a number who were sliding back to the roof. Others leaped from the colossal torch. In an instant, it seemed, the whole pyre was swathed in flames. As it toppled, the last wretched form was seen to poise and plunge with it into the glowing abyss.

The Fisheries Building received much attention. Its pillars were twined with processions of aquatic creatures and surmounted by capitals quaintly resembling lobster-pots. Its balustrades were supported by small fishy caryatids.

If wonder fatigued the visitor, he reached sequestered shade and quiet upon the Wooded Island, where nearly every variety of American tree and shrub might be seen.

The Government's displays were of ex-

treme interest. The War Department exhibits showed our superiority in heavy ordnance, likewise that of Europe in small arms. A first-class post-office was operated on the grounds. A combination postal car, manned by the most expert sorters and operators, interested vast crowds.

The Administration Building, seen from the Agricultural Building.

Close by was an ancient mail coach once actually captured by the Indians, with effigies of the pony express formerly so familiar on the Western plains, of a mail sledge drawn by dogs, and of a mail carrier mounted on a bicycle. Models of a quaint little Mississippi mail steamer and of the ocean steamer Paris stood side by side.

Swarms visited the Midway Plaisance, a long avenue out from the fair grounds proper, lined with shows. Here were villages transported from the ends of the

earth, animal shows, theatres, and bazaars. Cairo Street boasted 2,250,000 visitors, and the Hagenbeck Circus over 2,000,000. The chief feature was the Ferris Wheel, described in engineering terms as a cantilever

Midway Plaisance, World's Fair, Chicago.

bridge wrought around two enormous bicycle wheels. The axle, supported upon steel pyramids, alone weighed more than a locomotive. In cars strung upon its periphery passengers were swung from the ground far above the highest buildings.

Facilitating passenger transportation to

and from the Fair remarkable railway achievements were made. One train from New York to Chicago covered over 48 miles an hour, including stops. In preparation for the event the Illinois Central raised its tracks for two and a half miles over thirteen city streets, built 300 special cars, and erected many new stations. These improvements cost over $2,000,000. The Fair increased Illinois Central traffic over 200 per cent.

Save the Art Building, the structures at the Fair were designed to be temporary, and they were superfluous when the occasion which called them into being had passed. The question of disposing of them was summarily solved. One day some boys playing near the Terminal Station saw a sinister leer of flame inside. A high wind soon blew a conflagration, which enveloped the structures, leaving next day naught but ashes, tortured iron work, and here and there an arch, to tell of the regal White City that had been.

The financial backers of the Fair showed

no mercenary temper. The architects, too, worked with public spirit and zeal which money never could have elicited. Notwithstanding the World's Fair was not financially a "success," this was rather to the credit of

Electricity Building. Mines and Mining Building.

The Burning of the White City.

its unstinted magnificence than to the want of public appreciation. The paid admissions were over 21,000,000, a daily average of 120,000. The gross attendance exceeded by nearly a million the number at the Paris Exposition of 1889 for the corresponding period, though rather more than half a mil-

lion below the total at the French capital. The monthly average at Chicago increased from 1,000,000 at first to 7,000,000 in October.

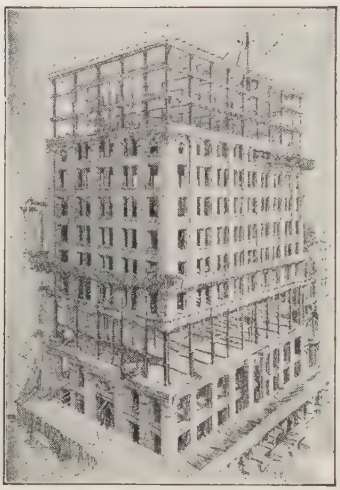
The crowd was typical of the best side of American life; orderly, good-natured, intelligent, sober. The grounds were clean, and there was no ruffianism. Of the $32,988 worth of property reported stolen, $31,875 was recovered and restored.

CHAPTER VI.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL MOVEMENT

The century from 1790 to 1890 saw our people multiplied sixteen times, from 3,929,214 at its beginning, to 62,622,250 at its end. The low percentage of increase for the last decade, about 20 per cent., disappointed even conservative estimates. The cities not only absorbed this increase, but, except in the West, made heavy draughts upon the country population. Of each 1,000 people in 1880, 225 were urban; in 1890, 290. Chicago's million and a tenth was second only to New York's million and a half. Philadelphia, Brooklyn, and St. Louis appeared respectively as the third, fourth, and fifth in the list of great cities. St. Paul, Omaha, and Denver domiciled three or four times as many as ten years

before. Among Western States only Nevada lagged. The State of Washington had quintupled its numbers. The centre of population had travelled fifty miles west and nine miles north, being caught by the census about twenty miles east of Columbus, Indiana.



The New York Life Insurance Building in Chicago. (Showing the construction of outer walls.)

The railroads of the country spanned an aggregate of 163,000 miles, twice the mileage of 1880. The national wealth was appraised at $65,037,091,197, an increase for the decade of $21,395,091,197 in the gross. Our per capita wealth was now $1,039, a per capita increase of $169. Production in the mining industry had gone up more than half. The improved acreage, on the other hand, had increased less than a

third, the number of farms a little over an eighth.

School enrollment had advanced from 12 per cent. in 1840 to 23 per cent. in 1890. Not far from a third of the people were communicants of the various religious bodies. About a tenth were Roman Catholics.

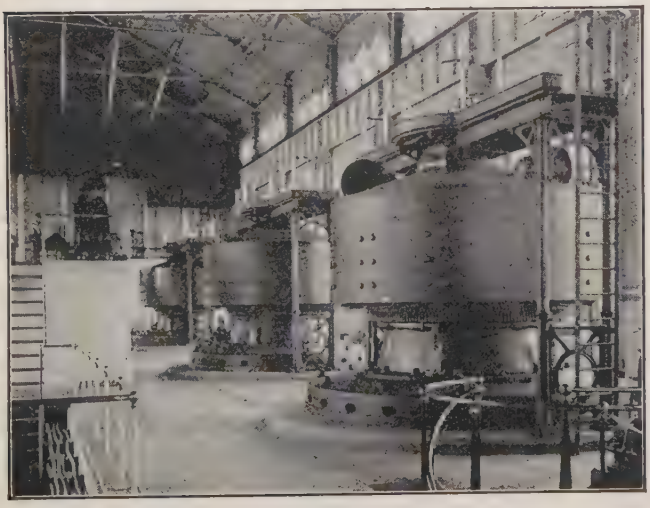
Improvement in iron and steel manufacture revolutionized the construction of bridges, vessels, and buildings. The suspension bridge, instanced by the stupendous East River bridge between New York and Brooklyn, was supplanted by the cantilever type, consisting of trusswork beams poised upon piers and meeting each other mid-stream. Iron and steel construction also made elevated railways possible. In 1890 the elevated roads of New York City alone carried over 500,000 passengers daily. Steel lent to the framework of buildings lightness, strength, and fire-proof quality, at the same time permitting swift construction. Walls came to serve merely as covering, not sustaining the floors, the weight

of which lay upon iron posts and girders.

At the time of the Centennial, electricity was used almost exclusively for telegraphic communication. By 1893 new inventions, as wonderful as Morse's own, had overlaid even that invention. A single wire now sufficed to carry several messages at once and in different directions. Rapidity of transmission was another miracle. During the electrical exposition in New York City, May, 1896, Hon. Chauncey M. Depew dictated a message which was sent round the world and back in fifty minutes. It read: "God creates, nature treasures, science utilizes electrical power for the grandeur of nations and the peace of the world." These words travelled from London to Lisbon, thence to Suez, Aden, Bombay, Madras, Singapore, Hong-Kong, Shanghai, Nagasaki, and Tokio, returning by the same route to New York, a total distance of over 27,500 miles.

Self-winding and self-regulating clocks came into vogue, being automatically ad-

justed through the Western Union telegraph lines, so that at noon each day the correct time was instantly communicated to their hands from the national observatory. Another invaluable use of the telegraph



Interior of the Power House at Niagara Falls.

was its service to the Weather Bureau, established in 1870. By means of simultaneous reports from a tract of territory 3,000 miles long by 1,500 wide, this bureau was enabled to make its forecasts indispensable to every prudent farmer, traveller, or mariner.

The three great latter-day applications of electrical force were the telephone, the electric light, and the electric motor. In 1876, almost simultaneously with its discovery by other investigators, Alexander Graham Bell exhibited an electric transmitter of the human voice. By the addition of the Edison carbon transmitter the same year the novelty was assured swift success. In 1893 the Bell Telephone Company owned 307,748 miles of wire, an amount increased by rival companies' property to 444,750. Estimates gave for that year nearly 14,000 "exchanges," 250,000 subscribers, and 2,000,000 daily conversations. New York and Chicago were placed on speaking terms only three or four days before "Columbus Day." All the chief cities were soon connected by telephone.

At the Philadelphia Exposition arc electric lamps were the latest wonder, and not till two years later did Edison render the incandescent lamp available.

The use of electricity for the development of power as well as of light, unknown

in the Centennial year, was in the Columbian year neither a scientific nor a practical novelty. On the contrary, it was fast supplanting horses upon street railways, and making city systems nuclei for far-stretching suburban and interurban lines. Street railways mounted steep hills inaccessible before save by the clumsy system of cables. Even steam locomotives upon great railways gave place in some instances to motors. Horseless carriages and pedalless bicycles were clearly in prospect.

It was found that by the use of copper wiring electric power could be carried great distances. A line twenty-five miles long bore from the American River Falls, at Folsom, California, to Sacramento, a current which the city found ample for traction, light, and power. Niagara Falls was harnessed to colossal generators, whose product was transmitted to neighboring cities and manufactories. Loss *en route* was at first considerable, but cunning devices lessened it each year.

Thomas Alva Edison and Nikola Tesla

were conspicuously identified with these astonishing applications of electric energy. Edison, first a newsboy, then (like Andrew

Thomas Alva Edison.
Copyright by W. A. Dickson.

Carnegie) a telegraph operator, without school or book training in physics, rose step by step to the repute of working miracles on notification. Tesla, a native of Servia, who

happened, upon migrating to the United States, to find employment with Edison, was totally unlike his master. He was a highly educated scientist, herein at a great advantage. He was, in opposition to Edison, peculiarly the champion of high tension alternating current distribution. He aimed to dispense so far as possible with the generation of heat, pressing the ether waves directly into the service of man.

Nikola Tesla.

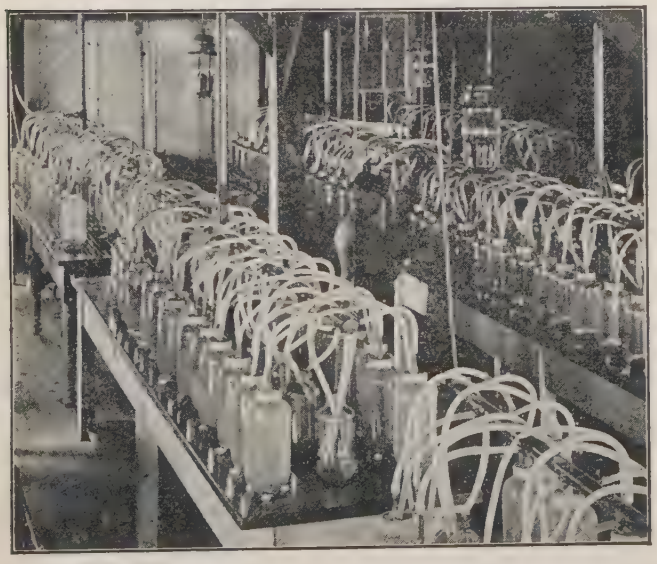
The bicycle developed incredible popularity in the '90's. Through all the panic of 1893 bicycle makers prospered. It was estimated in 1896 that no less than $100,000,000 had been spent in the United States upon cycling. A clumsy prototype of the "wheel" was known in 1868, but the first bicycle proper, a wheel breast-high, with cranks and pedals connected with a small trailing wheel

by a curved backbone and surmounted by a saddle, was exhibited at the Centennial. Two years later this kind of wheel began to be manufactured in America, and soon, in spite of its perils, or perhaps in part because of them, bicycle riding was a favorite sport

Bicycle Parade, New York. Fancy Costume Division.

among experts. In 1889 a new type was introduced, known as the "safety." Its two wheels were of the same size, with saddle between them, upon a suitable frame, the pedals propelling the rear wheel through a chain and sprocket gearing. An old invention, that of inflated or pneumatic tires of rubber, coupled with more hygienic sad-

dles, gave great impetus to cycling sport. The fad dwindled, but the bicycle remained in general use as a convenience and even as a necessity.



Hatchery Room of the Fish Commission Building at Washington, D. C., showing the hatchery jars in operation.

The Fish Commission, created by the Government in 1870, proved an important agency in promoting the great industries of fishing and fish culture. At the World's Fair it appeared that the fishing business had made progress greater than many

others which were much more obtrusively displayed, though the fishtrap, the fyke net, and the fishing steamer had all been introduced within a generation.

In no realm did invention and the application of science mean more for the country's weal than in agriculture. Each State had its agricultural college and experiment station, mainly supported by United States funds provided under the Morrill Acts. Soils, crops, animal breeds, methods of tillage, dairying, and breeding were scientifically examined. Forestry became a great interest. Intensive agriculture spread. By early ploughing and incessant use of cultivators keeping the surface soil a mulch, arid tracts were rendered to a great extent independent of both rainfall and irrigation. Improved machinery made possible the farming of vast areas with few hands. The gig horse hoe rendered weeding work almost a pleasure. A good reaper with binder attachment, changing horses once, harvested twenty acres a day. The best threshers bagged from 1,000 to 2,500 bushels daily. One

farmer sowed and reaped 200 acres of wheat one season without hiring a day's work.

Woman's position at the Fair was prominent and gratifying. How her touch lent refinement and taste was observed both in the Woman's Building, the first of its kind, and in other departments of the Exposition. Power of organization was noticeably exemplified in the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. This body originated in the temperance crusade of 1873 and the following year, when a State Temperance Association was formed in Ohio, leading shortly to the rise of a national union.

Related to this movement in elevated moral aims, as well as in the prominent part it assigned to women, was the Salvation Army. In 1861 William Booth, an English Methodist preacher, resigned his charge and devoted himself to the redemption of London's grossest proletariat. Deeming themselves not wanted in the churches, his converts set up a separate and more militant organization. In 1879 the Army invaded America, landing at Philadelphia, where, as

in the Old Country and in other American cities, pitiable sin and wretchedness grovelled in obscurity. In 1894 there were in the United States 539 corps and 1,953 officers, and in the whole world 3,200 corps and 10,788 officers. Without proposing any programme of social or political reform, and without announcing any manifesto of human rights, the Salvationists uplifted hordes of the fallen, while drawing to the lowliest the notice, sympathy, and help of the middle classes and the rich. Army discipline was rigidly maintained. The soldiers were sworn to wear the uniform, to obey their officers, to abstain from drink, tobacco, and worldly amusements, to live in simplicity and economy, to earn their living, and of their earnings always to give something to advance the Kingdom. The officers could not marry

William Booth.

From a photograph by Rockwood, New York.

or become engaged without the consent of the Army authorities, for their spouses must be capable of coöperating with them. They could receive no presents, not even food, except in cases of necessity. An officer must have experienced "full salvation"—that is, must endeavor to be living free from every known sin. Except as to pay, the Army placed women on an absolute equality with men, a policy which greatly furthered its usefulness.

The peculiar uniform worn by the Salvation soldiers, always sufficing to identify them, called attention to a fact never obvious till about 1890—the relative uniformity in the costumes of all fairly dressed Americans whether men or women. The wide circulation of fashion plates and pictorial papers accounted for this. About this time cuts came to be a feature even of newspapers, a custom on which the more conservative sheets at first frowned, though soon adopting it themselves.

CHAPTER VII.

MR. CLEVELAND AGAIN PRESIDENT

In the special session beginning August 7, 1893, a Democratic Congress met under a Democratic President for the first time since 1859. The results were disappointing. Divided, leaderless, in large part at bitter variance with the Administration, the Democrats trooped to their overthrow two years later.

During his second Administration Mr. Cleveland considerably extended the merit system in the civil service. Candidates for consulships were subjected to (non-competitive) examination. Public opinion commended these moves, as it did the President's prompt signing of the Anti-Lottery Bill, introduced in Congress when it was learned that the expatriated Louisiana Lottery from its seat under Honduras jurisdiction was

operating in the United States through the express companies. The bill prohibiting this abuse was passed at three in the morning

Grover Cleveland.

From a photograph by Alexander Black.

on the last day of the Congressional session, and received the President's signature barely five minutes before the Congress expired.

At the opening of the Special Session,

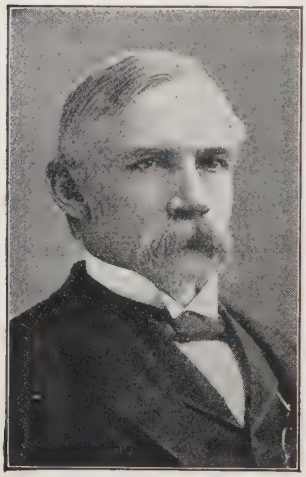
in August, 1893, the President demanded the repeal of that clause in the Sherman law of 1890 requiring the Government to make heavy monthly purchases of silver. The suspension in India of the free coinage of silver the preceding June had precipitated a disastrous monetary panic in the United States. Gold was hoarded and exported, vast sums being drained from the Treasury. Credits were refused, values shrivelled, business was palsied, labor idle. It was this situation which led the President to convoke Congress in special session.

Though achieving the repeal on November 1st, after Congressional wrangles especially long and bitter in the Senate, President Cleveland, pursuing the policy of paying gold for all greenbacks presented at the Treasury, was unable, even by the sale of $50,000,000 in bonds, to keep the Treasury gold reserve up to the $100,000,000 figure. Both old greenbacks and Sherman law greenbacks, being redeemed in gold, reissued and again redeemed, were used by exchangers like an endless chain pump to

pump the Treasury dry. In February, 1895, the reserve stood at the low figure of $41,340,181. None knew when the country might be forced to a silver basis. In consequence, business revived but slightly, if at all, after the repeal.

In its first regular session the same Congress enacted the Wilson Tariff. As it passed the House the bill provided for free sugar, wool, coal, lumber, and iron ore, besides reducing duties on many other articles. It also taxed incomes exceeding $4,000 per annum. The Senate, except in the case of wool and lumber, abandoned the proposal of free raw materials, stiffened the rates named by the House, and preferred specific to *ad valorem* duties. Many believed, without proof, that improper influences had helped the Senate to shape its sugar schedule favorably to the great refiners. The President pronounced sugar a legitimate subject for taxation in spite of the "fear, quite likely exaggerated," that carrying out this principle might "indirectly and inordinately encourage a combination of sugar refining

interests." In a letter read in the House, however, he upbraided as guilty of "party perfidy and dishonor" Democratic Senators who would abandon the principle of free raw materials. But nothing shook the senatorial will. What was in substance the Senate bill passed Congress, and the President permitted it to become a law without his signature.



William L. Wilson.

The Wilson law pleased no one. It violated the Democrats' plighted word apparently at the dictation of parties selfishly interested. The Supreme Court declared its income tax unconstitutional. The revenue from it was inadequate, and had to be eked out with new bond issues. These were alleged to be necessary to meet the greenback debt, but this need not have embarrassed the Government had it followed the French

policy of occasionally paying in silver a small percentage of the demand notes presented. Borrowing gold abroad, moreover, tended to inflate prices here, stimulating imports, discouraging exports, increasing the exportation of gold to settle the unfavorable balance of trade, and so on in ceaseless round.

The Democratic management of foreign affairs was severely criticised. Our extradition treaty with Russia, a country supposed to pay little or no regard to personal rights, and our delay in demanding reparation from Spain for firing upon the Alliança, a United States passenger steamer, were quite generally condemned. There were those who thought that Cuban insurgents against the sovereignty of Spain might have received some manifestation of sympathy from our Government, and that we should not have permitted Great Britain to endanger the Monroe Doctrine by occupying Corinto in Nicaragua to enforce the payment of an indemnity.

The President offended many in dealing as he did with the Hawaiian Islands' problem. Most did not consider it the duty of

this country to champion the cause of the native dynasty there, a course likely to subserve no enlightened interest. Whites, chiefly Americans, had come to own most of the land in the islands, while imported Asiatics and Portuguese competed sharply with the natives as laborers. Political power, even, was largely exercised by the whites, through whose influence the monarchy had been reduced to a constitutional form.

Princess (afterwards Queen) Liliuokalani.

In January, 1893, Queen Liliuokalani sought by a *coup d'état* to reinvest her royal authority with its old absoluteness and to disfranchise non-naturalized whites. The American man-of-war Boston, lying in Honolulu harbor, at the request of American residents, landed marines for their protection. The American colony now initiated a coun-

ter revolution, declaring the monarchy abrogated and a provisional government established. Minister Stevens at once recognized the Provisional Government as *de facto* sovereign. Under protest the Queen yielded.

James H. Blount.

The new government formally placed itself under the protectorate of the United States, and the Stars and Stripes were hoisted over the Government Building. President Harrison disavowed the protectorate, though he did not withdraw the troops from Honolulu, regarding them as necessary to assure the lives and property of American citizens. Nor did he lower the flag. A treaty for the annexation of the islands was soon negotiated and submitted to the Senate.

The Cleveland Administration reversed this whole policy with a jolt. The treaty

withdrawn, Mr. Cleveland despatched to Honolulu Hon. James H. Blount as a special commissioner, with "paramount authority," which he exercised by formally ending the protectorate, hauling down the flag, and embarking the garrison of marines. Mr. Blount soon superseded Mr. Stevens as minister. Meantime the Provisional Government had organized a force of twelve hundred soldiers, got control of the arms and ammunition in the islands, enacted drastic sedition laws, and suppressed disloyal newspapers.

Albert S. Willis.

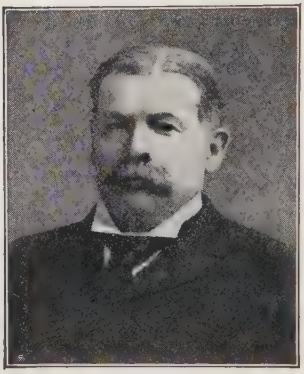
So complete was its sway, and so relentless did the dethroned Queen threaten to be toward her enemies in case she recovered power, that Minister Albert S. Willis, on succeeding Mr. Blount, lost heart in the contemplated enterprise of restoring the

monarchy. He found the Provisional Government and its supporters men of "high character and large commercial interests," while those of the Queen were quite out of sympathy with American interests or with good government for the islands. A large and influential section of Hawaiian public opinion was unanimous for annexation, even Prince Kunniakea, the last of the royal line, avowing himself an annexationist with heart, soul, and, if necessary, with rifle.

A farcical attempt at insurrection was followed by the arrest of the conspirators and of the ex-Queen, who thereupon, for herself and heirs, forever renounced the throne, gave allegiance to the Republic, counselled her former subjects to do likewise, and besought clemency. Her chief confederates were sentenced to death, but this was commuted to a heavy fine and long imprisonment. After the retirement of the Democracy from power in 1896 the annexation of the islands was promptly consummated.

Walter Q. Gresham, Secretary of State

in the early part of Cleveland's second term, died in May, 1895, being succeeded by Richard Olney, transferred from the portfolio of Attorney General. In a day, Cleveland's foreign policy, hitherto so inert, became vigorous to the verge of rashness. Deeming the Monroe Doctrine endangered by Great Britain's apparently arbitrary encroachments on Venezuela in fixing the boundary between Venezuela and British Guiana, he insisted that the boundary dispute should be settled by arbitration.



Richard Olney

The message in which the President took this ground shook the country like a declaration of war against Great Britain. American securities fell, the gold reserve dwindled. The President was, however, supported. Congress was found ready to aid the Administration by passing any measures necessary

to preserve the national credit. In December, 1895, it unanimously authorized the appointment of a commission to decide upon the true boundary line between Venezuela and British Guiana, with the purpose of giving its report the full sanction and support of the United States. The dispute was finally submitted to a distinguished tribunal at Paris, ex-President Harrison, among others, appearing on behalf of the Venezuelan Republic. While Great Britain's claim was, in a measure, vindicated, this proceeding established a new and potent precedent in support both of the Monroe Doctrine and of international arbitration.

In 1894 a ten months' session of the famous Lexow legislative committee in New York City uncovered voluminous evidence of corrupt municipal government there. The police force habitually levied tribute for protection not only upon legitimate trade and industry, but upon illicit liquor-selling, gambling, prostitution, and crime. The chief credit for the exposures was due to Rev. Charles H. Parkhurst,

President of the New York City Society for the Prevention of Crime. A fusion of

The Lexow Investigation. The scene in the Court Room after Creeden's confession, December 15, 1894.

anti-Tammany elements carried the autumn elections of 1894 for a reform ticket nom-

inated by a committee of seventy citizens and headed by William L. Strong as candidate for mayor. At the next election, however, the Tammany candidate, Van Wyck, became the first mayor of the new municipality known as Greater New York, in which had been merged as boroughs the metropolis itself, Brooklyn, and other near cities. As was revealed by the Mazet Committee, little change had occurred in Tammany's predatory spirit. In 1901, therefore, through an alliance similar to that which elected Mayor Strong, Greater New York chose as its mayor to succeed Van Wyck, Seth Low, who resigned the Presidency of Columbia University to become Fusion candidate for the position.

Charles H. Parkhurst.
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A recrudescence of the old Know-Nothing

spirit in a party known as the "A. P. A.," or "American Protective Association," marked these years. So early as 1875 politicians had noticed the existence of a secret anti-Catholic organization, the United American Mechanics, but it had a brief career. The A. P. A., organized soon after 1885, drew inspiration partly from the hostility of extreme Protestants to the Roman Catholic Church, and partly from the aversion felt by many toward the Irish. In 1894 the A. P. A., though its actual membership was never large, pretended to control 2,000,000 votes. Its subterranean methods estranged fair-minded people. Still more turned against it when its secret oath was exposed. The A. P. A. member promised (1) never to favor or aid the nomination, election, or appointment of a Roman Catholic to any political

William L. Strong.

office, and (2) never to employ a Roman Catholic in any capacity if the services of a Protestant could be obtained. A. P. A. public utterances garbled history and disseminated clumsy falsehoods touching Catholics, which reacted against the order. The Association declined as swiftly as it rose. Chiefly affiliating with the Republicans, it received no substantial countenance from any political party.

CHAPTER VIII.

LABOR AND THE RAILWAYS

In March, 1894, bands of the unemployed in various parts of the West, styling themselves "Commonweal," or "Industrial Armies," started for Washington to demand government relief for "labor." "General" Coxey, of Ohio, led the van. "General" Kelly followed from Trans-Mississippi with a force at one time numbering 1,250. Smaller itinerant groups joined the above as they marched. For supplies the tattered pilgrims taxed the sympathies or the fears of people along their routes. Most of them were well-meaning, but their destitution prompted some small thefts. Even violence occasionally occurred, as in California, where a town marshal killed a Commonweal "general," and in the State of Washington, where two deputy marshals were wounded. The

Coxey's army on the march to the Capitol steps at Washington.

Commonwealers captured a few freight trains and forced them into service.

Only Coxey's band reached Washington.

On May Day, attempting to present their "petition-in-boots" on the steps of the Capitol, the leaders were jailed under local laws against treading on the grass and against displaying banners on the Capitol Grounds. On June 10th Coxey was released, having meantime been nominated for Congress, and in little over a month the remnant of his forces was shipped back toward the setting sun.

The same year, 1894, marked a far more widespread and formidable disorder, the A. R. U. Railway Strike. The American Railway Union claimed a membership of 100,000, and aspired to include all the 850,000 railroad workmen in North America. It had just emerged with prestige from a successful grapple with the Great Northern Railway, settled by arbitration.

The union's catholic ambitions led it to admit many employees of the Pullman Palace Car Company, between whom and their employers acute differences were arising. The company's landlordism of the town of Pullman and petty shop abuses stirred up irrita-

tion, and when Pullman workers were laid off or put upon short time and cut wages, the feeling deepened. They pointed out that rents for the houses they lived in were not reduced, that the company's dividends the

The town of Pullman.

preceding year had been fat, and that the accumulation of its undivided surplus was enormous. The company, on the other hand, was sensible of a slack demand for cars after the brisk business done in connection with World's Fair travel.

The Pullman management refused the men's demand for the restoration of the wages schedule of June, 1893, but promised to investigate the abuses complained of, and engaged that no one serving on the laborer's committee of complaint should be prejudiced thereby. Immediately after this, however, three of the committee were laid off, and five-sixths of the other employees, apparently against the advice of A. R. U. leaders, determined upon a strike.

George M. Pullman.

Unmoved by solicitations from employees, from the Chicago Civic Federation, from Mayor Pingree of Detroit, indorsed by the mayors of over fifty other cities, the Pullman Company steadfastly refused to arbitrate or to entertain any communication from the union. "We have nothing to arbitrate" was the company's response to each appeal.

Camp of the U. S. troops on the lake front, Chicago.

Burned cars in the C., B. & Q. yards at Hawthorne, Chicago.

Overturned box cars at crossing of railroad tracks at 39th street, Chicago.

A national convention of the A. R. U. unanimously voted that unless the Pullman Company sooner consented to arbitration the union should, on June 26th, everywhere cease handling Pullman cars.

Hazen S. Pingree.

At this turn of affairs the A. R. U. found itself confronted with a new antagonist, the Association of General Managers of the twenty-four railroads centring in Chicago, controlling an aggregate mileage of over 40,000, a capitalization of considerably over $2,000,000,000, and a total workingmen force of 220,000 or more. The last-named workers had their own grievances arising from wage-cuts and black-listing by the Managers' Association. Such of them as were union men were the objects of peculiar hostility, which they reciprocated. Thus the Pullman boy-

cott, sympathetic in its incipience, swiftly became a gigantic trial of issues between the associated railroad corporations and the union.

For a week law and order were preserved. On July 2d the Federal Court in Chicago issued an injunction forbidding A. R. U. men, among other things, to "induce" employees to strike. Next day federal troops appeared upon the scene. Thereupon, in contempt of the injunction, railroad laborers continued by fair means and foul to be persuaded from their work.

Disregarding the union leaders' appeal and defying regular soldiers, State troops, deputy marshals, and police, rabble mobs fell to destroying cars and tracks, burning and looting. The mobs were in large part composed of Chicago's semi-criminal proletariat, a mass quite distinct from the body of strikers.

The A. R. U. strike approached its climax about the 10th of July. Chicago and the Northwest were paralyzed. President Cleveland deemed it necessary to issue a riot proclamation. A week later Debs and his fel-

low-leaders were jailed for contempt of court, and soon after their following collapsed.

Governor Altgeld, of Illinois, protested against the presence of federal troops, denying federal authority to send force except upon his gubernatorial request, inasmuch as maintaining order was a purely State province, and declaring his official ignorance of disorder warranting federal intervention.

Gov. John P. Altgeld.

Mr. Cleveland answered, appealing to the Constitution, federal laws, and the grave nature of the situation. United States power, he said, may and must whenever necessary, with or without request from State authorities, remove obstruction of the mails, execute process of the federal courts, and put down conspiracies against commerce between the States.

During the Pullman troubles, the judicial department of the United States Government, no less prompt or bold than the Executive, extended the equity power of injunction a step farther than precedents went. After 1887 United States tribunals construed the Interstate Commerce Law as authorizing injunctions against abandonment of trains by engineers. Early in 1894 a United States Circuit judge inhibited Northern Pacific workmen from striking in a body. For contempt of his injunctions during the Pullman strike Judge Woods sentenced Debs to six months' imprisonment and other arch-strikers to three months each under the so-called Anti-Trust Law.

Eugene V. Debs.

As infringing the right of trial by jury this course of adjudication aroused protest

even in conservative quarters. Later, opposition to "government by injunction" became a tenet of the more radical Democracy. A bill providing for jury trials in instances of contempt not committed in the presence of the court commanded support from members of both parties in the Fifty-eighth Congress. Federal decisions upheld workingmen's right, in the absence of an express contract, to strike at will, although emphatically affirming the legitimacy of enjoining violent interference with railroads, and of enforcing the injunction by punishing for contempt.

Federal injunctions subsequently went farther still, as in the miners' strike of 1902, during which Judge Jackson of the United States District Court for Northern West Virginia, enjoined miners' meetings, ordering the miners, in effect, to cease agitating or promoting the strike by any means whatever, no matter how peaceful. Speech intended to produce strikes the judge characterized as the abuse of free speech, properly restrainable by courts. Refusing to heed the injunc-

tion, several strike leaders were sentenced to jail for contempt, periods varying from sixty to ninety days.

Late in July, 1894, the President appointed a commission to investigate the Pullman strike. The report of this body, alluding to the Managers' Association as a usurpation of powers not obtainable directly by the corporations concerned, recommended governmental control over quasi-public corporations, and even hinted at ultimate government ownership. They counselled some measure of compulsory arbitration, urged that labor unions should become incorporated, so as to be responsible bodies, and suggested the licensing of railway employees. The Massachusetts State Board of Conciliation and Arbitration was favorably mentioned in this report, and became the model for several like boards in various States.

The labor question and other problems excluded from public thought a change in our dealings with our Indian wards that should not be overlooked. Up to 1887 the

Indian village communities could, under the law, hold land only in common. Individual Indians could not, without abandoning their tribes, become citizens of the United States. Such a legal status could not but discourage Indians' emergence from barbarism.

A better method was hinted at in an old Act of the Massachusetts General Court, passed so early as October, 1652.

"It is therefore ordered and enacted by this Court and the authority thereof, that what landes any of the Indians, within this jurisdiction, have by possession or improvement, by subdueing of the same, they have just right thereunto accordinge to that Gen: 1: 28, Chap. 9: 1, Psa: 115, 16." This old legislation further provided that any Indians who became civilized might acquire land by allotment in the white settlements on the same terms as the English.

In 1887, the so-called "General Allotment," or "Dawes" Act, empowered the President to allot in severalty a quarter section to each head of an Indian family and to each other adult Indian one eighth of a section, as well

as to provide for orphaned children and minors, the land to be held in trust by the United States for twenty-five years. The act further constituted any allottee or civilized Indian a citizen of the United States, subject to the civil and criminal laws of the place of his residence.

The Dawes Act was later so amended as to allot one-eighth of a section or more, if the reservation were large enough, to each member of a tribe. The amended law also regulated the descent of Indian lands, and provided for leases thereof with the approval of the Indian Department. This last provision was in instances twisted by white men to their advantage and to the Indians' loss; but on the whole the new system gave eminent satisfaction and promise.

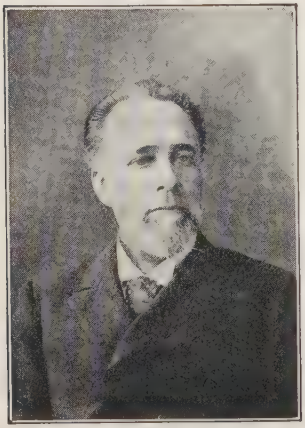
CHAPTER IX

THE MEN AND THE ISSUE IN 1896

EARLY in 1896 it became clear that the dominant issue of the presidential campaign would be the resumption by the United States of silver-dollar free coinage. Agitation for this, hushed only for a moment by the passage of the Bland Act, had been going on ever since demonetization in 1873. The fall in prices, which the new output of gold had not yet begun to arrest; the money stringency since 1893; the insecure, bond-supplied gold reserve, and the repeal of the silver-purchase clause in the Sherman Act combined to produce a wish for increase in the nation's hard-money supply. Had the climax of fervor synchronized with an election day, a free-coinage President might have been elected.

Only the Populists were a unit in favor-

ing free coinage. Recent Republican and Democratic platforms had been phrased with Delphic genius to suit the East and West at once. The best known statesmen of both parties had "wobbled" upon the question. The Republican party contained a large element favorable to silver, while the Democratic President, at least, had boldly and steadfastly exerted himself to establish the gold standard.



Senator Teller, of Colorado.

Realignment of forces begot queer alliances between party foes, lasting bitterness between party fellows. Even the Prohibitionists, who held the first convention, were riven into "narrow-gauge" and "broad-gauge," the latter in a rump convention incorporating a free-coinage plank into their creed. If the Republicans kept their ranks closed better than the Democrats, this

was largely due to the prominence they gave to protection, attacked by the Wilson-Gorman Act.

Their convention sat at St. Louis, June 16th. It was an eminently business-like body, even its enthusiasm and applause wearing the air of discipline. In making the platform, powerful efforts for a catch-as-catch-could declaration upon the silver question succumbed to New England's and New York's demand for an unequivocal statement. The party "opposed the free coinage of silver except by international agreement with the leading commercial nations of the world." . . . "Until such agreement can be obtained, the existing gold standard must be preserved." Senator Teller, of Colorado, moved a substitute favoring "the free, unrestricted, and independent

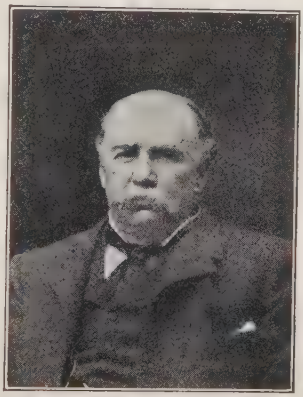
Senator Cannon.

coinage of gold and silver at our mints at the ratio of 16 parts of silver to 1 of gold." It was at once tabled by a vote of 818½ to 105½. The rest of the platform having been adopted, Senator Cannon, of Utah, read a protest against the money plank, which recited the evils of falling prices as discouraging industry and threatening perpetual servitude of American producers to consumers in creditor nations.

Then occurred a dramatic scene, the first important bolt from a Republican convention since 1872. "Accepting the present fiat of the convention as the present purpose of the party," Teller shook hands with the chairman, and, tears streaming down his face, left the convention, accompanied by Cannon and twenty other delegates, among them two entire State delegations. Senators Mantle, of Montana, and Brown, of Utah, though remaining, protested against the convention's financial utterance.

The Republican platform lauded protection and reciprocity, favored annexing the Hawaiian Islands, and the building, owner-

ship, and operation of the Nicaragua Canal by the United States. It reasserted the Monroe Doctrine "in its full extent," expressed sympathy for Cuban patriots, and bespoke United States influence and good offices to give Cuba peace and independence.



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Garret A. Hobart, Vice-President.

The first ballot, by a majority of over two-thirds, nominated for the presidency William McKinley, Jr., of Ohio, the nomination being at once made unanimous. Garret A. Hobart, of New Jersey, was nominated for Vice-President.

William McKinley, Jr., was born at Niles, Ohio, January 29, 1843, of Scotch-Irish stock. In 1860 he entered Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa., but ill health compelled him to leave. He taught school. For a time he was a postal clerk at Poland, Ohio. At the outbreak of the Civil War he en-

listed as a private in Company E, 23d Ohio Infantry, the regiment with which William S. Rosecrans, Rutherford B. Hayes, and Stanley Matthews were connected. Successive promotions attended his gallant and exemplary services. He shared every engagement in which his regiment took part, was never absent on sick leave, and had only one short furlough. A month before the assassination of President Lincoln McKinley was commissioned a major by brevet.

After the war Major McKinley studied law. He was admitted to the bar in 1867, settling in Canton, Ohio. In 1876 he made his début in Congress, where he served with credit till 1890, when, owing partly to a gerrymander and partly to the unpopular McKinley Bill, he was defeated by the narrow margin of 300 votes. As Governor of Ohio and as a public speaker visiting every part of the country, McKinley was more and more frequently mentioned in connection with the presidency.

The nomination was a happy one. No

other could have done so much to unite the party. Not only had Mr. McKinley's political career been honorable, he had the genius of manly affability, drawing people to him instead of antagonizing them. Republicans who could not support the platform, in numbers gave fealty to the candidate as a true man, devoted to their protective tenets, and a "friend of silver."

The Democratic convention sat at Chicago July 7th to 10th. Though Administration and Eastern Democratic leaders had long been working to stem free coinage sentiment, this seemed rather to increase. By July 1st, in thirty-three of the fifty States and Territories, Democratic platforms had declared for free coinage. The first test of strength in the convention overruled the National Committee's choice of David B. Hill for temporary chairman, electing Senator Daniel, of Virginia, by nearly a two-thirds vote. The silver side was then added to by unseating and seating.

Hot fights took place over planks which the minority thought unjust to the Adminis-

tration or revolutionary. The income-tax plank drew the heaviest fire, but was nailed to the platform in spite of this. It attacked the Supreme Court for reversing precedents in order to declare that tax unconstitutional, and suggested the possibility of another reversal by the same court "as it may hereafter be constituted."

The platform assailed "government by injunction as a new and highly dangerous form of oppression, by which federal judges in contempt of the laws of the States and the rights of citizens become at once legislators, judges, and executioners."

Attention having been called to the demonetization of silver in 1873 and to the consequent fall of prices and the growing onerousness of debts and fixed charges, gold monometallism was indicted as the cause "which had locked fast the prosperity of an industrial people in the paralysis of hard times" and brought the United States into financial servitude to London. Demand was therefore made for "the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the present

The McKinley-Hobart Parade Passing the Reviewing Stand, New York, October 31, 1896.

legal ratio of 16 to 1 without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation." Practically the entire management of the Treasury under Mr. Cleveland was condemned.

The platform being read, Hill, of New York, Vilas, of Wisconsin, and ex-Governor Russell, of Massachusetts, spoke. William J. Bryan, of Nebraska, was called upon to reply. In doing so he made the memorable "cross of gold" speech, which more than aught else determined his nomination. In a musical but penetrating voice, that chained the attention of all listeners, he sketched the growth of the free-silver belief and prophesied its triumph. While, shortly before, the Democratic cause was desperate, now McKinley, famed for his resemblance to Napoleon, and nominated on the anniversary of Waterloo, seemed already to hear the waves lashing the lonely shores of St. Helena. The gold standard, he said, not any "threat" of silver, disturbed business. The wage-worker, the farmer, and the miner were as truly business

men as "the few financial magnates who in a dark room corner the money of the world." "We answer the demand for the gold standard by saying, 'You shall not

Bryan Speaking from the Rear End of a Train.

press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns. You shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold!'"

Sixteen members of the Resolutions Committee presented a minority report criticis-

ing majority declarations. As a substitute for the silver plank they offered a declaration similar to that of the Republican convention. In a further plank they commended the Administration. The substitute money plank was lost 301 to 628, and the resolution of endorsement 357 to 564. No delegates withdrew, but a more formidable bolt than shook the Republican convention here expressed itself silently. In the subsequent proceedings 162 delegates, including all of New York's 72, 45 of New England's 77, 18 of New Jersey's 20, and 19 of Wisconsin's 24 took no part whatever.

Before Bryan spoke, a majority of the silver delegates probably favored Hon. Richard P. Bland, of Missouri, father of the Bland Act, as the presidential candidate, but the first balloting showed a change. Upon the fifth ballot Bryan received 500 votes, a number which changes before the result was announced increased to the required two-thirds. Arthur Sewall, of Maine, was the nominee for Vice-President.

Mr. Bryan, then barely thirty-six, was the youngest man ever nominated for the presidency. He was born in Salem, Ill., March 19, 1860. His father was a man of note, having served eight years in the Illinois Senate, and afterwards upon the circuit bench. Young Bryan passed his youth on his father's farm, near Salem, and at Illinois College, Jacksonville, where he graduated in 1881 with oratorical honors. Having read law in Chicago, and in 1887 been admitted to the bar, he removed to Lincoln, Neb., and began practising law.

Mr. Bryan was inclined to politics, and his singular power on the platform drew attention to him as an available candidate. In 1890 he was elected to Congress as a Democrat. He served two terms, declining a third nomination. In 1894 he became editor of the Omaha *World-Herald*, but later resumed the practice of law.

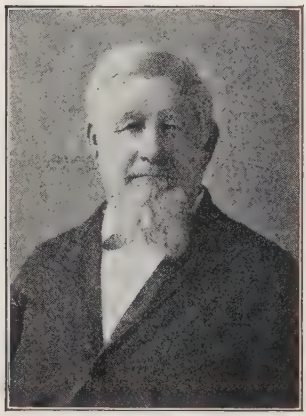
In Nebraska, as in some other Western States, Republicans so outnumbered Democrats that Populist aid was indispensable in any State or congressional contest. In

1892 it had been eagerly courted on Cleveland's behalf. Bryan had helped in consummating fusion between Populism and Democracy in Nebraska. This occasioned the unjust charge that he was no Democrat. The allegation gained credence when the Populist national convention at St. Louis placed him at the head of its ticket, refusing at the same time to accept Sewall, choosing instead a typical Southern Populist, Thomas Watson, of Georgia.

Arthur Sewall.

To Southern Populists Democrats were more execrable than Republicans. Westerners of that faith were jealous of Sewall as an Eastern man and rich. Too close union with Democracy threatened Populism with extinction. Rightly divining that their leaders wished such a "merger," the Populist rank and file insisted on nominat-

ing their candidate for the vice-presidency first. Bryan was made head of the ticket next day. The silver Republicans acclaimed the whole Democratic ticket, Sewall as well as Bryan.



Ex-Senator Palmer.

The Democratic opponents of the "Chicago Democracy" determined to place in the field a "National" or "Gold" Democratic ticket. A convention for this purpose met in Indianapolis, September 3d. The Indianapolis Democrats lauded the gold standard and a non-governmental currency as historic Democratic doctrines, endorsed the Administration, and assailed the Chicago income-tax plank. Ex-Senator Palmer, of Illinois, and Simon E. Buckner, of Kentucky, were nominated to run upon this platform. Gold Democrats who could not in conscience vote for a Republican here found their refuge.

Parties were now seriously mixed. Thousands of Western Republicans declared for Bryan; as many or more Eastern Democrats for McKinley. Party newspapers bolted. In Detroit the Republican *Journal* supported Bryan, the Democratic *Free Press* came out against him. Not a few from both sides "took to the woods"; while many, to be "regular," laid inconvenient convictions on the table.

Simon E. Buckner.

The campaign was fierce beyond parallel. Neither candidate's character could be assailed, but the motives governing many of their followers were. Catchwords like "gold bug" and "popocrat" flew back and forth. The question-begging phrase "sound money"—both parties professed to wish "sound money"—did effective partisan service. Neither party's deepest prin-

ciples were much discussed. Many gold people assumed as beyond controversy that free coinage would drive gold from the country and wreck public credit. Advocates of silver too little heeded the consequences which the mere fear of those evils must entail, impatiently classing such as mentioned them among bond-servants to the money power.

So great was the fear of free silver in financial circles, corporations voted money to the huge Republican campaign fund. The opposition could tap no such mine. Never before had a national campaign seen the Democratic party so abandoned by Democrats of wealth, or with so slender a purse.

Nor was this the worst. Had Mr. Bryan been able through the campaign to maintain the passionate eloquence of his Chicago speech, or the lucid logic of that with which at Madison Square Garden he opened the campaign, he would still not have succeeded in sustaining "more hard money" ardor at its mid-summer pitch. His eloquence, in-

deed, in good degree continued, but the level of his argument sank. Instead of championing the cause of producers, whether rich or poor, against mere money-changers, which he might have done with telling effect, he more and more fell to the tone of one speaking simply against all the rich, an attitude which repelled multitudes who possessed neither wealth nor much sympathy for the wealthy.

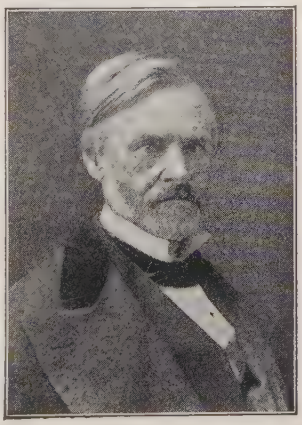
Save for one short trip to Cleveland the Republican candidate did not, during the campaign, leave Canton, though from his doorstep he spoke to visiting hordes. His opponent, in the course of the most remarkable campaigning tour ever made by a candidate, preached free coinage to millions. The immense number of his addresses; their effectiveness, notwithstanding the slender preparation possible for most of them severally; the abstract nature of his subject when argued on its merits, as it usually was by him; and the strain of his incessant journeys evinced a power in the man which was the amazement of every one.

Spite of all this, as election day drew near, the feeling rose that it post-dated by at least two months all possibility of a Democratic victory. Republicans' limitless resources, steady discipline, and ceaseless work told day by day. They polled, of the popular vote, 7,104,244; the combined Bryan forces, 6,506,853; the Gold Democracy, 134,652; the Prohibitionists, 144,606; and the Socialists, 36,416.

CHAPTER X

MR. McKINLEY'S ADMINISTRATION

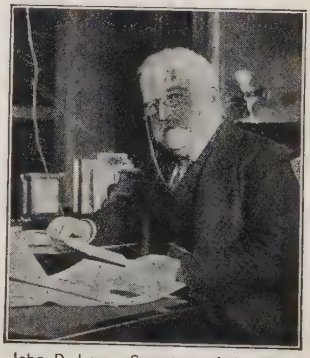
THE Nestor of the original McKinley Cabinet was John Sherman, who left his Senate seat to the swiftly rising Hanna that he himself might devote his eminent but failing powers to the Secretaryship of State. Upon the outbreak of the Spanish War he was succeeded by William R. Day, who had been Assistant Secretary. In 1898 Day in turn resigned, when Ambassador John Hay was called to the place from the Court of St. James. The Treasury went to Lyman J. Gage, a distinguished Illinois banker.



John Sherman.

Mr. Gage was a Democrat, and this appointment was doubtless meant as a recognition of the Gold Democracy's aid in the campaign. General Russell A. Alger, of Michigan, took charge of the War Department, holding it till July 19, 1899, after which Elihu Root was installed. Postmaster-General James A. Gary, of Maryland, resigned the same month with Sherman, giving place to Charles Emory Smith, of the Philadelphia *Press*. The Navy portfolio fell to John D. Long, of Massachusetts; that of the Interior to Cornelius N. Bliss, of New York; that of Agriculture to James Wilson, of Iowa.

Lyman J. Gage, Secretary of the Treasury.



John D. Long, Secretary of the Navy.

In December, 1898, Ethan Allen Hitchcock, of Missouri, succeeded Bliss.

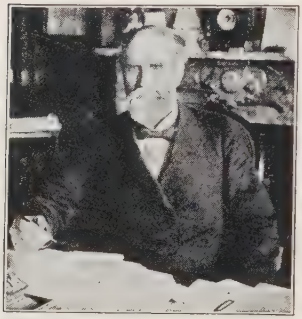
Cornelius N. Bliss, Secretary of the Interior.

Fortunately for the new Chief Magistrate, who had been announced as the "advance agent of prosperity," the year 1897 brought a revival of business. This was due in part to the end, at least for the time, of political suspense and agitation, in part to the confidence which capitalists felt in the new Administration.

Russell A. Alger, Secretary of War.

The money stringency, too, now began to abate. The annual output of the world's gold mines, which had for some years been increasing, appeared to have terminated

the fall of general prices, prevalent almost incessantly since 1873. Moreover, continued increase seemed assured, not only by the invention of new processes, which made it lucrative to work tailings and worn-out mines, but also by the discovery of several rich auriferous tracts hitherto unknown.



James Wilson, Secretary of Agriculture.

The valley of the Yukon, in Alaska and the adjacent British territory, had long been known to contain gold, but none suspected there a bonanza like the South African Rand. In the six months' night of 1896–1897 an old squaw-man made an unprecedented strike upon the Klondike (Thron-Duick or Tondak) River, 2,000 miles up the Yukon.

From a copyrighted photo by Clinedinst.
Postmaster-General Gary.

By spring all his neighbors had staked rich claims. Next July $2,000,000 worth of gold came south by one shipment, precipitating a rush to the inhospitable mining regions hardly second to the California migration of 1849.

Latter-day Argonauts, not dismayed by the untold dangers and hardships in store, toiled up the Yukon, or, swarming over the precipitous Chilcoot Pass, braved, too often at cost of life, the boiling rapids to be passed in descending the Upper Yukon to the gold fields. Later the easier and well-wooded White Pass was found, traversed, at length, by a railroad. In October, 1898, the Cape Nome coast, north of the Yukon mouth, uncovered its riches, whereupon treasure-seekers turned thither their attention, even from the Yukon.

Little lawlessness pestered the gold settlements. The Dominion promptly despatched to Dawson a body of her famous mounted police. Our Government, more tardily, made its authority felt from St. Michaels, near the Yukon mouth, all the

way to the Canadian border. On June 6, 1900, Alaska was constituted a civil and judicial district, with a governor, whose functions were those of a territorial governor. When necessary the miners them-

Rush of Miners to the Yukon.
The City of Caches at the Summit of Chilcoot Pass.

selves formed tribunals and meted out a rough-and-ready justice.

The rush of miners to the middle Yukon gold region, which, together with certain ports and waters on the way thither, were claimed by both the United States and

Great Britain, made acute the question of the true boundary between Alaskan and British territory.

In 1825 Great Britain and Russia, the latter then owning Alaska, agreed by treaty to separate their respective possessions by a line commencing at the southernmost point of Prince of Wales Island and running along Portland Channel to the continental coast at 56 degrees north latitude. North of that degree the boundary was to run along mountain summits parallel to the coast until it intersected the 141st meridian west longitude, which was then to be followed to the frozen ocean. In case any of the summits mentioned should be more than ten marine leagues from the ocean, the line was to parallel the coast, and be never more than ten marine leagues therefrom.

When it became important to determine and mark the boundary in a more exact manner, Great Britain advanced two new claims ; first, that the "Portland Channel" mentioned in the Russo-British treaty was not the channel now known by that name,

but rather Behm Channel, next west, or Clarence Straits; and, secondly, that the ten-league limit should be measured from the outer rim of the archipelago skirting Alaska, and not from the mainland coast. If conceded, these claims would add to the Canadian Dominion about 29,000 square miles, including 100 miles of sea-coast, with harbors like Lynn Channel and Tahko Inlet, several islands, vast mining, fishery, and timber resources, as well as Juneau City, Revilla, and Fort Tongass, theretofore undisputably American.

In September, 1898, a joint high commission sat at Quebec and canvassed all moot matters between the two countries, among them that of the Alaska boundary. It adjourned, however, without settling the question, though a temporary and provisional understanding was reached and signed October 20, 1899.

The commissioners gave earnest attention to the sealing question, which had been plaguing the United States ever since the Paris arbitration tribunal upset Secretary

Blaine's contention that Bering Sea was *mare clausum.* Upon that tribunal's decision the *modus vivendi* touching seals lapsed, and Canadians, with renewed and ruthless zeal, plied seal-killing upon the high seas. Dr. David S. Jordan, American delegate to the 1896–1897 Conference of Fur-Seal Experts, estimated that the American seal herd had shrunken 15 per cent. in 1896, and that a full third of that year's pups, orphaned by pelagic sealing, had starved. Reckoning from the beginning of the industry and in round numbers, he estimated that 400,000 breeding females had been slaughtered, that 300,000 pups had perished for want of nourishment, and that 400,000 unborn pups had died with their dams. This estimate disregarded the multitude of females lost after being speared or shot. Dr. Jordan predicted the not distant extinction of the fur-seal trade unless protective measures should be forthwith devised. British experts questioned some of his conclusions, but admitted the need of restriction upon pelagic sealing.

The McKinley Administration besought Great Britain for a suspension of seal-killing during 1897. After a delay of four months the Foreign Office replied that it was too late to stop the sealers that year. In a rather undiplomatic note, dated May 10, 1897, Secretary Sherman charged dilatory and evasive conduct upon this question. The retort was that the American Government was seeking to embarrass British subjects in pursuing lawful vocations.

Moved by Canada, Great Britain recanted her offer to join the United States, Russia, and Japan in a complete system of sealing regulations. The three countries last named thereupon agreed with each other to suspend pelagic sealing so long as expert opinion declared it necessary to the continued existence of the seals. The Canadians declined to consider suspension save on the condition that the owners of sealing vessels should receive compensation. In December, the same year (1897), our Government ordered confiscated and destroyed all sealskins brought to our ports not ac-

companied with invoices signed by the United States Consul at the place of exportation, certifying that they were not taken at sea. This cut off the Canadians' best market and so far diminished their activity; but pelagic sealing still continued, under the inefficient Paris regulations, and the herd went on diminishing.

That these Canadian controversies left so little sting, but were followed by closer and closer *rapprochement* between the United States and Great Britain, was fortunate in view of the failure of the Anglo-American Arbitration Treaty. This had been negotiated by Mr. Cleveland's able Secretary of State, Hon. Richard Olney, and represented the best ethical thought of both nations. President McKinley endorsed it, but it fell short of a two-thirds Senatorial vote.

On June 16, 1897, a treaty was signed annexing the Hawaiian Republic to the United States. The Government of Hawaii speedily ratified this, but it encountered in the United States Senate such buffets that after a year it was withdrawn, and a reso-

lution to the same end introduced in both Houses. A majority in each chamber would annex, while the treaty method would require a two-thirds vote in the Senate. The resolution provided for the assumption by the United States of the Hawaiian debt up to $4,000,000. Our Chinese Exclusion Law was extended to the islands, and Chinese immigration thence to the continental republic prohibited. The joint resolution passed July 6, 1898, a majority of the Democrats and several Republicans, among these Speaker Reed, opposing. Shelby M. Cullom, John T. Morgan, Robert R. Hitt, Sanford B. Dole, and Walter F. Frear, made commissioners by its authority, drafted a territorial form of government, which became law April 30, 1900.

Pursuant to the platform pledge of his party President McKinley early in his term appointed Edward O. Wolcott, Adlai E. Stevenson, and Charles J. Paine special envoys to the Powers in the interest of international bi-metallism. The mission was mentioned with smiles by gold men and

with sneers by silver men, yet the cordial coöperation of France made it for a time seem hopeful. The British Cabinet, too, were not ill-disposed, pointing out that while Great Britain herself must retain the gold standard, they earnestly wished a stable ratio between silver and gold on British India's account. Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Chancellor of the Exchequer, had little doubt that if a solid international agreement could be reached India would reopen her mints to silver. But the Indian Council unanimously declined to do this. The Bank of England was at first disposed to accept silver as part of its reserve, a course which the law permitted; but a storm of protests from the "city banks" dismayed the directors into withdrawal. Lacking England's coöperation the mission, like its numerous predecessors, came to naught.

In Civil Service administration Mr. McKinley took one long and unfortunate step backward. The Republican platform, adopted after Mr. Cleveland's extension of the merit system, emphatically endorsed

this, as did Mr. McKinley himself. Against extreme pressure, particularly in the War Department, the President bravely stood out till May 29, 1899. His order of that date withdrew from the classified service 4,000 or more positions, removed 3,500 from the class theretofore filled through competitive examination or an orderly practice of promotion, and placed 6,416 more under a system drafted by the Secretary of War. The order declared regular a large number of temporary appointments made without examination, besides rendering eligible, as emergency appointees, without examination, thousands who had served during the Spanish War.

Republicans pointed to the deficit under the Wilson Law with much the same concern manifested by President Cleveland in 1888 over the surplus. A new tariff law must be passed, and, if possible, before a new Congressional election. An extra session of Congress was therefore summoned for March 15, 1897. The Ways and Means Committee, which had been at

work for three months, forthwith reported through Chairman Nelson Dingley the bill which bore his name. With equal promptness the Committee on Rules brought in a rule, at once adopted by the House, whereby the new bill, spite of Democratic pleas for time to examine, discuss, and propose amendments, reached the Senate the last day of March. More deliberation marked procedure in the Senate. This body passed the bill after toning up its schedules with some 870 amendments, most of which pleased the Conference Committee and became law. The Act was signed by the President July 24, 1897.

Nelson Dingley.

The Dingley Act was estimated by its author to advance the average rate from the 40 per cent. of the Wilson Bill to approximately 50 per cent., or a shade higher

than the McKinley rate. As proportioned to consumption the tax imposed by it was probably heavier than that under either of its predecessors.

Reciprocity, a feature of the McKinley Tariff Act, was suspended by the Wilson

Warships in the Hudson River Celebrating the Dedication of Grant's Tomb, April 27, 1897.

Act. The Republican platform of 1896 declared protection and reciprocity twin measures of Republican policy. Clauses graced the Dingley Act allowing reciprocity treaties to be made, "duly ratified" by the Senate and "approved" by Congress; yet, of the twins, protection proved stout and lusty, while the weaker sister lan

guished. Under the third section of the Act some concessions were given and received, but the treaties negotiated under

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Grant's Tomb, Riverside Drive, New York.

the fourth section, which involved lowering of strictly protective duties, met summary defeat when submitted to the Senate.

The granite mausoleum in Riverside

Park, New York City, designed to receive the remains of General Grant, was completed in 1897, and upon the 27th of April, that year, formally presented to the city. Ten days previously the body had been removed thither from the brick tomb where it had reposed since August 8, 1885. Four massive granite piers, with rows of Doric columns between, supported the roof and the obtuse cone of the cupola, which rested upon a great circle of Ionic pillars. The interior was cruciform. In the centre was the crypt, where, upon a square platform, rested the red porphyry sarcophagus. From the mausoleum summit, 150 feet above, the eye swept the Hudson for miles up and down.

The presentation day procession was headed by the presidential party. The Governor of New York State, the Mayor of the city, and the United States diplomatic corps were prominent. Other distinguished guests attended, including Union and Confederate veterans. The entire procession reached six miles. There were

53,500 participants, military and civil, and 160 bands of music. At the same time, in majestic column upon the Hudson, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Spain joined, with men-of-war, our North Atlantic squadron, saluting the President as he passed.

The exercises at the tomb were simple. Bishop Newman offered prayer. "America" was sung. President McKinley delivered an address of eulogy. General Horace Porter gave the mausoleum into the city's keeping, a trust which Mayor Strong in a few words accepted.

CHAPTER XI

THE WAR WITH SPAIN

How early Cuban discontent with Spain's rule became vocal is not known. An incipient revolt in 1766 was ruthlessly put down. Though the "Ever Faithful Isle" did not rebel with the South American colonies under Bolivar, it was never at rest, as attested by the servile revolts of 1794 and 1844, the "Black Eagle" rebellion of 1829, and the ten-years' insurrection beginning in 1868. In 1894–1895, just as "Home Rule for Cuba" had become a burning issue in Spain, martial law was proclaimed in Havana, precipitating the last and successful revolution.

American interest in the island, material and otherwise, was great. The barbarity and devastation marking the wars made a strong appeal to our humane instincts; nor

could Americans be indifferent to a neighboring people struggling to be free. The suppression of filibustering expeditions taxed our Treasury and our patience. Equally embarrassing were the operations of Cuban juntas from our ports. To solve the complex difficulty Presidents Polk, Buchanan, and Grant had each in his time vainly sought to purchase the island. The Virginius outrage during Grant's incumbency brought us to the very verge of war, prevented only by the almost desperate resistance of Secretary Hamilton Fish.

Governor-General Weyler.

When the final rebellion was under way the humane Governor-General Martinez Campos was succeeded by General Weyler, ordered to down the rebellion at all costs. Numberless buildings were burnt and plantations destroyed, the insurgents retali-

ating in kind. Non-combatants were huddled in concentration camps, where half their number perished. American citizens were imprisoned without trial. One, Dr. Ruiz, died under circumstances occasioning strong suspicions of foul play.

President Cleveland, while willing to mediate between Spain and the Cubans, preserved a neutral attitude, refusing to recognize the insurgents even as belligerents, though they possessed all rural Cuba save one province. Only when about to quit office did Mr. Cleveland hint at intervention.

Soon after McKinley's accession an anarchist shot Premier Canovas, when Sagasta, his Liberal successor, promised Cuba reform and home rule. Weyler was succeeded by Blanco, who revoked concentration, proclaimed amnesty, and set on foot an autonomist government. Americans were loosed from prison. Clara Barton, of the American Red Cross Society, hastened with supplies to the relief of the wretched reconcentrados, turned loose upon a waste. Spain,

too, appropriated a large sum for reconcentrado relief, promising implements, seed, and other means for restoring ruined homes and plantations.

But the iron had entered the Cuban's soul. The belligerents rejected absolutely

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U. S. Battleship Maine Entering the Harbor of Havana, January, 1898.

the offers of autonomy, demanding independence. The "pacificos" were no better off than before, and relations between the United States and Spain grew steadily more strained. Two incidents precipitated a crisis.

A letter by the Spanish Minister at Washington, Señor de Lome, was inter-

cepted and published, holding President McKinley up as a time-serving politician. De Lome forestalled recall by resigning; yet his successor, Polo y Bernabe, could not

Photograph by J. C. Hemment.

Wreck of U. S. Battleship Maine.

fail to note on arriving in Washington a chill diplomatic atmosphere.

In January, 1898, the United States battleship Maine was on a friendly visit at Havana, where she was received with the greatest courtesy, being taken to her harbor berth by the Spanish government pilot. At 9.40 on the evening of February 15th,

the harbor air was rent by a tremendous explosion. Where the Maine had been, only a low shapeless hump was distinguishable. The splendid vessel, with officers and crew on board to the number of 355, had sunk, a wreck. Of the 355, 253 never saw day.

Strong suspicions gained prevalence that this was a deed of Spanish treachery, or attributable, at the very least, to criminal indifference on the part of the authorities. Some alleged positive connivance by Spanish officials. War fever ran high. When, five days later, the Spanish cruiser Vizcaya visited New York City, it was thought well to accord her special protection. March 9th, Congress placed in the President's hands $50,000,000 to be used for national defence. The 21st, a naval court of inquiry confirmed the view that the Maine disaster was due to the explosion of a submarine mine. War fever became a fire. "Remember the Maine" echoed up and down and across the land, the words uttered with deep earnestness.

The war spirit welded North and South.

permeating the Democracy even more than the party in power. Democrats would have at once recognized the Cuban Republic. This was at first the attitude of the Senate, which, upon deliberation, wisely forbore. It, however, on April 20th, joined the House in declaring the people of Cuba free and

From a photograph by J. C. Hemment. Copyright, 1898, by W. R. Hearst.
Bow of the Spanish Cruiser Almirante Oquendo.

independent, adding that Spain must forthwith relinquish her authority there. The President was authorized to use the nation's entire army, navy, and militia to enforce withdrawal. This was in effect a declaration of war. Minister Woodford, at Madrid, received his passports; as promptly Bernabe withdrew to Montreal. April 23d, 125,000

The Landing at Daiquiri. Transports in the Offing.

volunteers were called out. April 26th an increase of the regular army to some 62,000 was authorized. Soon came a call for 75,000 more volunteers. Responses from all the States flooded the War Department.

Spain, ruled by a clique of privileged Catalonians, groaned under all the oppressiveness of militarism, with none of its power. Plagued by Carlism and anarchy at home, she was grappling, at tremendous outlay, with two rebellions abroad. Yet all her many parties cried for war. Popular subscriptions were taken to aid the impoverished treasury; reserves were called out; in Cuba, Blanco summoned all able-bodied men. The navy was supplemented by ships purchased wherever hands could be laid upon them.

Captain Charles E. Clark.

Owing to the parsimony of Congress, our equipment for a large army, or even for our 25,000 regulars, if they were to go

Copyright, 1899, by Strohmeyer & Wyman.

After Deck on the Oregon, Showing Two 13-inch, Four 8-inch, and Two 6-inch Guns.

on a tropical campaign, was totally inadequate. Our artillery had no smokeless powder. Many infantry regiments came to camp armed with nothing but enthusiasm. No khaki cloth for uniforms was to be had

in the country. Canvas had to be taken from that provided by the Post-Office Department for repairing mail bags. While the utmost possible at short notice was done with the just voted $50,000,000 defence fund, the comprehensive system of

Blockhouse on San Juan Hill.

fortifications long before designed had hardly been begun. The navy had been treated least illiberally; still the construction budget had been so cut that only a few of the proposed vessels had been transferred from paper to the sea.

The United States navy which did exist was a noble one. Both its ships and their

crews were as fine as any afloat. Had the Spanish navy been manned like ours the two would have been of about equal strength. Ours boasted the more battleships, but Spain had several new and first-rate armored cruisers, besides a flotilla of swift torpedo boats. The Spaniards were, however, poor gunners, clumsy sailors, awkward and careless mechanics; while American gunners had a deadly aim, and spared no skill or pains in the care or handling of their ships.

American superiority in these points was tellingly proved by the Oregon's unprecedented run from ocean to ocean. Before hostilities she was ordered from San Francisco *via* Cape Horn to join the Atlantic squadron. The long, hard, swift trip was made without the break of a bar or the loosening of a bolt, a result which attracted expert notice abroad as attesting the very highest order of seamanship. Meantime war had commenced. It was feared that off Brazil Admiral Cervera would endeavor to intercept and destroy her; yet,

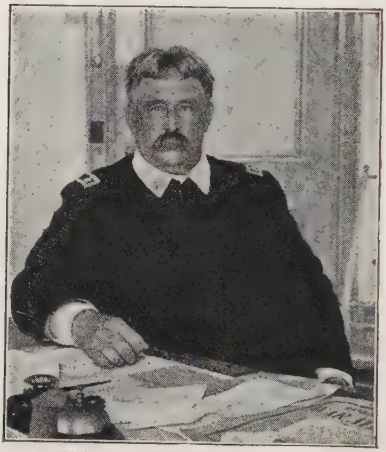
with well-grounded confidence, Captain Clark expected in that event not only to save himself but to punish his assailants. He met no interference, however, and at the end of her unparalleled voyage his noble ship was without overhauling ready to join in the Santiago blockade and in destroying the Spanish fleet.

Admiral Cervera, Commander of the Spanish Squadron.

Admiral Cervera's departure westward from the Cape Verde Islands, and the subsequent discovery of his squadron in the harbor of Santiago, determined the Government to invest that city. The navy acted with promptitude. Commodore Schley first, then, in conjunction with him, his superior, Rear-Admiral Sampson, drew a tight line of war-vessels across the channel entrance.

Unfortunately delayed by inadequate

shipping facilities and the unsystematic consignment of supplies, also by the unfounded rumor of a Spanish cruiser and destroyer lying in wait, the army of 17,000, under Major-General William R. Shafter, landed with little opposition a short distance east of Santiago. The sickly season had begun. Moreover, it was as good as certain that, spite of all the miserable Cuban army could do, Santiago's 8,000 defenders would soon be increased from neighboring Spanish garrisons. So, notwithstanding his inadequate provision for sound, sick, or wounded and his weakness in artillery, Shafter pushed forward. His gallant little army brushed the enemy's intercepting outpost from



Major-General William R. Shafter.

Las Guasimas, tore him, amid red carnage, from his stubborn holds at El Caney and San Juan Ridge, and by July 3d had the city invested, save on the west. From this quarter, however, General Escario, with 3,600 men, had forced his way

Troops in the Trenches, Facing Santiago.

past our Cuban allies and joined his besieged compatriots in Santiago.

The third of July opened, for the Americans, the darkest day of the war. Drenched by night, roasted by day, haversacks which had been cast aside for battle lost or purloined, supply trains stalled in the rear, fighting by day, by night digging trenches and rifle-pits—little wonder that many lost

heart and urged withdrawal to some position nearer the American base. Shafter himself for a moment considered such a step. But General Wheeler, on the fighting line, set his face against it, as, upon reflection, did Shafter. A bold demand for surrender was sent to General Toral, commanding the city, while Admiral Sampson came to confer with Shafter for a naval assault.

General Joseph Wheeler.

The squadron had not been idle. By day their vigilance detected the smallest movement at the harbor mouth. Upon that point each night two battleships bent their dazzling search-lights like cyclopean eyes.

It was decided to block the narrow channel by sinking the collier Merrimac across

View of San Juan Hill and Blockhouse, Showing the Camp of the United States Forces.

its neck. Just before dawn on June 3d the young naval constructor, Hobson, with six volunteers chosen from scores of eager com-

The Collier Merrimac Sunk by Hobson at the Mouth of Santiago Harbor.

petitors, and one stowaway who joined them against orders, pushed the hulk between the headland forts into a roaring hell of projectiles. An explosion from within rent the Merrimac's hull, and she sank; but,

the rudder being shot away, went down lengthwise of the channel. When the firing ceased, the little crew, exhausted, but not one of the eight missing, clustered, only heads out of water, around their raft. A launch drew near. In charge was the Spanish admiral, who took them aboard with admiring kindness, and despatched a boat to notify the American fleet of their safety.

It was well that "Hobson's choice" as to the way his tub should sink failed. On July 3d, just after Sampson steamed away to see Shafter, the Maria Teresa was seen poking her nose from the Santiago harbor, followed by the Almirante Oquendo, the Vizcaya, and the Christobal Colon. Under peremptory orders from his Government, Admiral Cervera had begun a mad race to destruction. "It is better," said he, "to die fighting than to blow up the ships in the harbor." These had become the grim alternatives.

The Brooklyn gave chase, the other vessels in suit, the Texas and the Oregon leading. As the admiral predicted, it was "a

dreadful holocaust." One by one his vessels had to head for the beach, silenced, crippled, flames bursting from decks, portholes, and the rents torn by our cannonade. Two destroyers, Furor and Pluton, met their fate near the harbor. Only the Colon remained any time afloat, but her doom was sealed. Outdoing the other pursuers and her own contract speed the grand Oregon, pride of the navy, poured explosives upon the Spaniard, until, within three hours and forty minutes of the enemy's appearance, his last vessel was reduced to junk. Cervera was captured with 76 officers and 1,600 men. 350 Spaniards were killed, 160 wounded. The American losses were inconsiderable. The ships' injuries also were hardly more than trifling.

So closed the third of July, so opened the glorious Fourth! To Shafter and his men the navy's victory was worth a reënforcement of 100,000. Bands played, tired soldiers danced, shouted, and hugged each other. Correspondingly depressed were the Spaniards. They endeavored, as Hobson

had, to choke the harbor throat with the Reina Mercedes ; but she, like the Merrimac, had her steering apparatus shot away and sank lengthwise of the channel. Still, it was not deemed wise to attempt forcing a way in, nor did this prove necessary. Toral saw

From a photograph by J. C. Hemment. Copyright, 1898, by W. R. Hearst.
The Spanish Cruiser Christobal Colon.

reënforcements extending the American right to surround him, and out at sea over fifty transports loaded with fresh soldiers. Spanish honor had been signalized not only by the devoted heroism of Cervera's men but by the gallantry of his own. The Americans offered to convey his command back

to Spain free of charge. He therefore sought from Madrid, and after some days obtained, authority to surrender. He sur-

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The U. S. S. Brooklyn.

rendered July 16th. Besides the Santiago garrison, Toral's entire command in eastern Cuba, about 24,000 men, became our prisoners of war.

The Santiago surrender left the United

States free to execute what proved the last important expedition of the war, that of General Miles to Porto Rico. It was a complete success. Miles proclaiming the beneficent purposes of our Government, numbers of volunteers in the Spanish army deserted, the regulars were swept back by four simultaneous movements, and our conquest was as good as complete when the peace protocol put an end to all hostilities.

General Nelson A. Miles.

Meantime an independent campaign was under way in the far Orient. At once after war was declared Commodore George Dewey, commanding the United States naval forces in Asiatic waters, was ordered to capture or sink the Spanish Philippine fleet. Obliged at once to leave the neutral port of Hong-Kong, and on April 27th to quit Mirs Bay as well, he steamed for Manila.

A little before midnight, on April 30th, Dewey's flagship Olympia entered the Boca Grande channel to Manila Bay, the Baltimore, Petrel, Raleigh, Concord, and Boston following. By daybreak Cavite stood disclosed and, ready and waiting, huddled under its batteries, Admiral Montojo's fleet: Reina Christina, Castilla, Don Antonio de Ulloa, Don Juan de Austria, Isla de Luzon, Isla de Cuba, General Lezo, Marquis del Duero, El Curreo, and Velasco—ten vessels to Dewey's six. Counting those of the batteries, the Spaniards' guns outnumbered and outcalibred Dewey's. All the Spanish guns, from ships and from batteries alike, played on our fleet—a thunder of hostile welcome, harmless as a salute.

Admiral George Dewey.

The commodore delayed his fire till

every shot would tell, when, circling around in closer and closer quarters, he concentrated an annihilating cyclone of shot and shell upon the Spanish craft. Two torpedo boats ventured from shore. One was sunk, one beached. The Reina

Protected Cruiser Olympia.

Christina, the Amazon of the fleet, steamed out to duel with the Olympia, but "overwhelmed with deadly attentions" could barely stagger back. One hundred and fifty men were killed and ninety wounded on the Christina alone. In a little less than two hours, having sunk the Christina, Castilla, and Ulloa and set afire the other

warships, the American ceased firing to assure and arrange his ammunition supply and to breakfast and rest his brave crews. He reopened at 11.16 A.M. to finish. By half-past twelve every Spanish warship had been sunk or burned and the forts silenced. The Spanish reported their loss at 381 killed and wounded. Seven Americans were wounded, not one killed.

General A. R. Chaffee

As the Filipino insurgents encircled Manila on the land side the Spaniards could not escape, and, to spare life, Dewey deemed it best to await the arrival of land forces before completing the reduction.

Waiting tried the admiral's discretion more than the battle had his valor. It was necessary to encourage the insurgents, at

the same time to prevent excesses on their part, and to avoid recognizing them even as allies in such manner as to involve our Gov-

General Merritt and General Greene taking a look at a Spanish field-gun on the Malate Fort.

ernment. Another embarrassment, threatening for a time, was the German admiral's impertinence. One of his warships was about to steam into harbor contrary to Dewey's instructions, but was halted by a

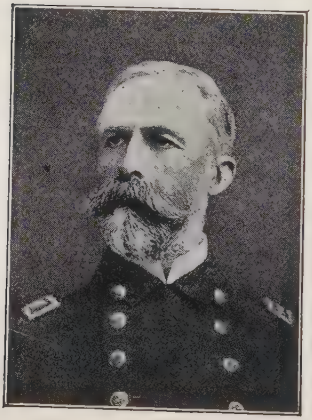
shot across her bows. Dewey's firmness in this affair was exemplary.

On June 30th the advance portion of General Merritt's troops arrived and supplanted the insurgents in beleaguering Manila. The war was now closing. Manila capitulated August 13th. The peace protocol was signed August 12th. The Treaty of Paris was signed December 10th. Spain evacuated Cuba and ceded to the United States Porto Rico, at the same time selling us the Philippine Archipelago for $20,000,000.

CHAPTER XII

"CUBA LIBRE"

As if Santiago had not afforded "glory enough for all," some disparaged Admiral Sampson's part in the battle, others Admiral Schley's. As commander of the fleet, whose routine and emergency procedure he had sagaciously prescribed, Sampson, though on duty out of sight of the action at its beginning, was entitled to utmost credit for the brilliant outcome. The day added his name to the list of history's great sea captains.



Admiral William T. Sampson.

Schley had the fortune to be senior officer

during his chief's temporary absence. He fought his ship, the Brooklyn, to perfection, and, while it was not of record that he issued any orders to other commanders, his prestige and well-known battle frenzy inspired all, contributing much to the victory. The early accounts deeply impressed the public, and they made Schley the central figure of the battle. Unfortunately Sampson's first report did not even mention him. Personal and political partisans took up the strife, giving each phase the angriest possible look. Admiral Schley at length sought and obtained a court of inquiry.

Admiral W. S. Schley.

The court found Schley's conduct in the part of the campaign prior to June 1, 1898 (which our last chapter had not space to detail), vacillating, dilatory, and lacking en-

terprise. It maintained, however, that during the battle itself, despite the Brooklyn's famous "loop," which it seemed to condemn, his conduct was self-possessed, and that he inspired his officers and men to courageous fighting. Admiral Dewey, president of the court, held in part a dissenting opinion, which carried great weight with the country. He considered Schley the actual fleet commander in the battle, thus giving him the main credit for the victory.

Legally, it turned out, Sampson, not Schley, commanded during the hot hours. Moreover, the evidence seemed to reveal that the court's strictures upon Schley, like many criticisms of General Grant at Shiloh and in his Wilderness campaign, were probably just. In both cases the public was slow to accept the critics' view.

Both before and after his resignation, July 19, 1899, Secretary of War Alger was subjected to great obloquy. Shafter's corps undoubtedly suffered much that proper system and prevision would have prevented. The delay in embarking at Tampa; the

crowding of transports, the use of heavy uniforms in Cuba and of light clothing afterward at Montauk Point, the deficiency in tents, transportation, ambulances, medicines, and surgeons, ought not to have occurred. Indignation swept the country when it was charged that Commissary-General Eagan had furnished soldiers quantities of beef treated with chemicals and of canned roast beef unfit for use. A commission appointed to investigate found that "embalmed beef" had not been given out to any extent. Canned roast beef had been, and the commission declared it improper food.

The commission made it clear that the Quartermaster's Department had been physically and financially unequal to the task of suddenly equipping and transporting the enlarged army—over ten times the size of our regular army—for which it had to provide. If wanting at times in system the department had been zealous and tireless. At the worst it was far less to blame than recent Congresses, which had stinted both

army and navy to lavish money upon objects far less important to the country. The army system needed radical reform. There was no general staff, and the titular head of the army had less real authority than the adjutant-general with his bureau.

These imbroglios had little significance compared with the problems connected with our new dependencies. The Senate ratified the peace treaty February 6, 1899, by the narrow margin of two votes—forty-two Republicans and fifteen others in favor, twenty-four Democrats and three others opposing. But for the advocacy of the Democratic leader, William J. Bryan, who thought that the pending problems could be dealt with by Congress better than in the way of diplomacy, ratification would have failed.

The Spanish-American War had brought to an end our traditional policy of isolation. The restless energy that had conquered the continent to the Pacific had carried the flag beyond the too narrow confines of the western hemisphere and had planted it on

islands bathed by Asiatic waters. Meanwhile, Hawaii had been annexed. Furthermore, sole tenure of the Samoan Islands west of 171 degrees west longitude, including Tutuila and Pago-Pago harbor, the best haven in the group, was ours. These measures, which a few years earlier all would have deemed radical, did not stir perceptible opposition. Nearly all felt that they were justified by considerations of national security, to obtain naval bases or strategic points. Such motives also excused the acquisition of Guam in the Pacific, ceded by Spain in Article II of the Paris Treaty, and that of Porto Rico.

Civil government was established in Porto Rico with the happiest results. The Insular Treasury credit balance trebled in a year, standing, July 1, 1902, at $314,000. The exports for 1902 increased over 50 per cent, most of the advance being consigned to the United States. The principal exports were sugar, tobacco, the superior coffee grown in the island, and straw hats. Of the coffee, the year named, Europe took

$5,000,000 worth, America only $29,000 worth. Porto Rico imported from Spain over $95,000 worth of rice, $500,000 worth of potatoes. The first year under our government there were 13,000 fewer deaths than the year before, improvement due to better sanitation and a higher standard of living. Mutual respect between natives and Americans grew daily.

Touching Cuba, too, the course of the Administration evoked no serious opposition. We were in the island simply as trustees for the Cubans. The fourth congressional resolution of April 20, 1898, gave pledge as follows: "The United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over said island (Cuba) except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination when that is completed to leave the government and control of the island to its people." This "self-denying ordinance," than which few official utterances in all our history ever did more to shape the nation's behavior, was moved and urged, at

first against strong opposition, by Senator Teller, of Colorado. Senator Spooner thought it likely that but for the pledge

Showing Condition of Streets in Santiago before Street Cleaning Department was organized.

just recited European States would have formed a league against the United States in favor of Spain.

December 13, 1898, a military government was established for "the division of Cuba," including Porto Rico. The New Year saw the last military relic of Spanish dominion trail out of Cuba and Cuban waters. The Cuban army gradually dis-

Santiago Street Cleaning Department.

banded. The work of distributing supplies and medicines was followed by the vigorous prosecution of railroad, highway and bridge repairing and other public works, upon which many of the destitute found employment. Courts and schools were resumed. Hundreds of new schools opened

—in Santiago city 60, in Santiago province over 300. Brigandage was stamped out. Cities were thoroughly cleaned and sewer systems constructed. The death-rate fell steadily to a lower mark than ever before. In 1896 there were in Havana 1,262 deaths from yellow fever, and during the eleven years prior to American occupation an average of 440 annually. In 1901 there were only four. Under the "pax Americana" industry awoke. New huts and houses hid the ashes of former ones. Miles of desert smiled again with unwonted tillage.

In December, 1899, Governor Brooke retired in favor of General Leonard Wood. A splendid object-lesson in good government having been placed before the people, they were, in June, 1900, given control of their municipal governments and the powers of these somewhat enlarged. In July Governor Wood issued a call for a constitutional convention, which met in November. The fruit of its deliberations was an instrument modelled largely upon the United States Constitution.

In his call for the convention, also in his opening address before it, Governor Wood mentioned its duty to determine the relations between Cuba and the United States. Jealous and suspicious, the convention, believing the United States bound by its pledge to leave the island to the unconditional control of its inhabitants, slighted these hints. Meantime, at President McKinley's instance, Congress adopted, March 2, 1901, as a rider to the pending army appropriation bill, what was known as "the Platt amendment," so called from its author, Senator Platt, of Connecticut.

This enacted that in fulfilment of the congressional joint resolution of April 20, 1898, which led to the freeing of Cuba, the President was to leave the government and control of the island to its people only when a Government should be established there under a constitution defining the future relations of the United States with Cuba. The points to be safeguarded were that Cuba should permit no foreign lodgment or control, contract no excessive debt,

ratify the acts of the military government, and protect rights acquired thereunder, continue to improve the sanitation of cities, give the United States certain coaling and naval stations, and allow it to intervene if

Judge Cruz Perez. Gov.-Gen. Wood.
General Maximo Gomez. T. E. Palma.

Governor-General Leonard A. Wood transferring the Island of Cuba to President Tomaso Estrada Palma, as a Cuban Republic, May, 1902.

From copyrighted stereoscopic photograph. *By Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.*

necessary to preserve Cuban independence, maintain adequate government, or discharge international obligations created by the Paris Treaty.

A week before the Platt amendment passed, the Cuban convention adopted a declaration of relations, "provided the fu-

ture government of Cuba thinks them advisable," not mentioning coaling stations or a right of intervention, but declaring that "the governments of the United States and Cuba ought to regulate their commercial relations by means of a treaty based on reciprocity."

When the convention heard that the Platt amendment must be complied with, a commission was sent to Washington to have this explained. Upon its return the convention, June 12, 1901, not without much opposition, adopted the amendment.

The first President of the Cuban Republic was Tomaso Estrada Palma. He had been for years an exile in the United States, and was much in sympathy with our country. His home-coming was an ovation. In May, 1902, the Stars and Stripes were hauled down, and the Cuban tricolor raised. The military governor and all but a few of his soldiers left the island, as the Spaniards had done less than four years before; yet with a record of dazzling achievement that

had done much to repair the mischiefs of Spain's chronic misrule.

Cut off from her former free commercial intercourse with Spain, Cuba looked to the United States as the main market for her raw sugar. Advocates of reciprocity urged considerations of honor and fair dealing with Cuba, where, it was said, ruin stared planters in the face. The Administration and a majority of the Republicans favored the cause. The so-called "Sugar Trust" was favorable to reciprocity, but the sugar-beet interests and the cane-sugar producers of Louisiana bitterly opposed it, and not until late in 1903 were favorable concessions forced through Congress, largely as a result of powerful pressure brought by President Roosevelt.

CHAPTER XIII

THE UNITED STATES IN THE ORIENT—PHILIPPINES AND FILIPINOS

The Philippine Archipelago lies between 4° 45′ and 21° north latitude and 118° and 127° east longitude. It consists of 19 considerable and over 3,000 lesser islands, an area nearly equal that of New Jersey, New York, and New England combined. The island of Luzon comprises a third of this, that of Mindanao a fifth or a sixth. The archipelago is rich in natural resources but mining and manufactures had not at the American occupation been developed. Agriculture was the main occupation, though only a ninth of the land surface was under cultivation. The islands were believed capable of sustaining a population like Japan's 42,000,000. Luzon boasted a glorious and varied landscape and a climate salubrious and inviting, considering the low latitude. Manila hemp, sugar, tobacco,

coffee, and indigo were raised and exported in large amounts.

The islands lie in three groups, the Luzon, the Visaya (Negros, Panay, Cebu, Bohol, Leyte, Samar, and islets), and the

General Bates. The Sultan.

The Jolo Treaty Commission.

Mindanao, including Palawan and the Sulu Islands. Some of these islands were in parts unexplored. The Tagals and the Visayas, Christian and more or less civilized Malay tribes, dominated respectively the first and the second group. The Mindanao coasts held here and there a few

Christian Filipinos, but the chief denizens of the southern islands were the fierce Arab-Malay Mohammedans known as Moros, most important and dangerous of whose tribes were the Illanos. In all, there were thirty or more races, with an even greater number of different dialects. The total population numbered over 7,000,000, only 25,000 being Europeans.

Spain had done in the islands much more educational work than the Americans at first recognized, though none of an advanced kind. Schools were numerous but not general. Many Filipinos had studied in Europe. There was a select class possessing information and manners which would have admitted them to cultivated circles in Paris or London, and thousands of Filipinos were intellectually the peers of average middle-class Europeans. The University of St. Thomas graced Manila. Some seventy colleges and academies at various centres professed to prepare pupils for it.

In the Philippines one had incessantly before him social and economic problems in

their rudimentary form—populations the débris of centuries, and the reactions upon them of their first contact with real civilization. In case of any but the most advanced tribes the immediate suggestion was despair, a feeling that they could never appropriate the culture offered them. But the heartiness of the response which even such communities made to our advances brought hope. Our methods were better than the Spanish, and our progress correspondingly rapid; yet the task we undertook bade fair to last centuries. Nor were its initial steps undefaced by errors.

Spain never governed a colony well. Her whole record *outre-mer* was of a piece with the enslavement and extermination of the gentle Caribs, with which it began. In slavery and the slave trade Anglo-Saxon conquistadors shared Spain's dishonor, but in sheer ugliness of despotism, in wholesale, systematic, selfish exploiting, and in corrupt and clumsy administration the Iberian monarchy surpassed all other powers ever called to deal with colonies. The truth of

this indictment was, if possible, more manifest in the Philippines than anywhere else in the Spanish world.

The religious orders, which early achieved the conversion of Tagals, Visayas, and some other tribes, after generations of evangelical devotion, ceased to be aggressive religiously, growing opulent and oppressive instead. They were the pedestal of the civil government. Their word could, and often did, cause natives to be deported, or even put to death. One of their victims was that beautiful spirit, Dr. Rizal, author of *Noli me Tangere*, the most learned and distinguished Malay ever known. He had taken no part whatever in rebellion or sedition, yet, because he was known to abominate clerical misrule, he was, without a scintilla of evidence that he had broken any law, first expatriated, then shot. This murder occurring December 30, 1896, did much to further the rebellion then spreading.

In December, 1897, the conflict, as in Cuba, had degenerated into a "stalemate." The Spaniard could not be ousted, the Fili-

pino could not be subdued. Spain ended the trouble for the time by promising reform, and hiring the insurgent leaders to leave the country. Only a small part, 400,000 Mexican dollars, of the promised sum was ever paid. This was held in Hong-Kong as a trust fund against a future uprising.

Emilio Aguinaldo.

Chief among the leaders shipped to Hong-Kong was Emilio Aguinaldo. He was born March 22, 1869, at Cavite, of which town he subsequently became mayor. His blood probably contained Spanish, Tagal, and Chinese strains. He had supplemented a limited school education by extensive and

eager contact with books and men. To a surprising wealth of information the young Filipino added inspiring eloquence and much genius for leadership. He had the "remarkable gift of surrounding himself with able coadjutors and administrators." The insurrection of 1896 early revealed him as the incarnation of Filipino hostility to Spain. Spaniards never missed their reckoning more completely than in thinking they had quieted Aguinaldo by sending him to China with a bag of money.

It being already obvious that Spain had not redressed, and had no intention of redressing, abuses in the Philippines, Aguinaldo and his aides planned to return. The American war was their opportunity. Conferences were had with Consul Wildman at Hong-Kong and later in Manila Bay with Commodore Dewey. Aguinaldo and those about him declared that Wildman, alleging authority from Washington, promised the Filipinos independence; and other Hong-Kong consuls and several press representatives received the impression that

this was the case. Wildman absolutely denied having given any assurance of the kind. Admiral Dewey also denied in the most positive manner that he had done so.

Gen. Frederick Funston.
Gen. A. McArthur.

Whatever the understanding or misunderstanding at Hong-Kong, Aguinaldo came home in the evident belief that the American forces and his own were to work for Filipino independence. He easily resumed his leadership and began planning for an independent Filipino State. Dewey furnished him arms and ammunition. The insurrection was reorganized on a grander scale than ever, with extraordinary

ability, tact, energy, and success. Nearly every one of the Luzon provinces had its rebel organization. In each Aguinaldo picked the leader and outlined the plan of campaign. His scheme had unity; his followers were aggressive and fearless. Every-

A Company of Insurrectos near Bongued, Abia Province, just previous to surrendering early in 1901.

where save in a few strongholds Spain was vanquished. At last only Manila remained. The insurgents must have captured 10,000 prisoners, though part of those they had at the Spanish evacuation were from the Americans. They hemmed in Manila by a line reaching from water to water. We

could not have taken Manila as we did, by little more than a show of force, had it not been for the fact that Spain's soldiers, thus hemmed in by Aguinaldo's, could not retreat beyond the range of our naval guns. January 21, 1899, a Philippine Republic

11th Cavalry Landing at Vigan, Ilocos, April, 1902.

was set up, its capital being Malolos, which effectively controlled at least the Tagal provinces of Luzon. Its methods were irregular and arbitrary—natural in view of the prevalence of war. Aguinaldo, its soul from the first moment, became President.

The Philippine Republic wished and assumed to act for the archipelago, taking

the place of Spain. It, of course, had neither in law nor in fact the power to do this, nor, under the circumstances, could the Administration at Washington, however desirable such a course from certain points of

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Jules Cambon, the French Ambassador, acting for Spain, receiving from the Honorable John Hay, the U. S. Secretary of State, drafts to the amount of $20,000,000, in payment for the Philippines.

view, consent that it should at present even try. The Philippine question divided the country, raising numerous problems of fact, law, policy, and ethics, on which neither Congress nor the people could know its mind without time for reflection.

When our commissioners met at Paris to draft the Treaty of Peace, one wished our demands in the Orient confined to Manila, with a few harbors and coaling stations. Two thought it well to take Luzon, or some such goodly portion of the archipelago. That the treaty at last called for the entire Philippine domain, allowing $20,000,000 therefor, was due to insistence from Washington. Only the Vice-President's casting vote defeated a resolution introduced in the Senate by Senator Bacon, of Georgia, declaring our intention to treat the Filipinos as we were pledged to treat the Cubans. After ratification the Senate passed a resolution, introduced by Senator McEnery, of Louisiana, avowing the purpose not to make the Filipinos United States citizens or their land American territory, but to establish for them a government suited to their needs, in due time disposing of the archipelago according to the interests of our people and of the inhabitants.

CHAPTER XIV

THE UNITED STATES IN THE ORIENT— WAR, CONTROVERSY, PEACE

It was wholly problematical how long Aguinaldo unaided could dominate Luzon, still more so whether he would rule tolerably, and more uncertain yet whether centre or south would ever yield to him. The insurgents had foothold in four or five Visayan islands, but were never admitted to Negros, which of its own accord raised our flag. In Mindanao, the Sulu Islands, and Palawan they practically had no influence. Governor Taft was of opinion that they could never, unaided, have set up their sway in these southern regions. But should they succeed in establishing good government over the entire archipelago, clearly they must be for an indefinite period incompetent to take over the international responsibilities connected with the islands. To have at once conceded their sovereignty

could have subserved no end that would have been from any point of view rational or humane.

The American situation was delicate. We were present as friends, but could be really so only by, for the time, seeming not to be so. At points we failed in tact. We too little recognized distinctions among classes of Filipinos, tending to treat all alike as savages.

Suspicion and estrangement reached a high pitch after the capture of Manila, when Aguinaldo, instead of being admitted to the capital, was required to fall still farther back, the American lines lying between him and the prize. December 21, 1898, the President ordered our Government extended with despatch over the archipelago. That the Treaty of Paris summarily gave not only the islands but their inhabitants to the United States, entirely ignoring their wishes in the matter, was a snub. Still worse, it seemed to guarantee perpetuation of the friar abuses under which the Filipinos had groaned so long. Outside Manila threat of

American rule awakened bitter hostility. In Manila itself thousands of Tagals, lip-servants of the new masters, were in secret communion with their kinsmen in arms.

No blood flowed till February 4, 1899, when a skirmish, set off by the shot of a bullyragged American sentry, led to war. February 22, 1899, the insurgents vainly attempted to fire Manila, but were pushed back with slaughter, their forces scattered.

March 20, 1899, the first Philippine Commission—Jacob G. Schurman, of New York; Admiral Dewey; General Otis; Charles Denby, ex-minister to China; and Dean C. Worcester, of Michigan—began their labors at Manila. They set to work with great zeal and discretion to win to the cause of peace not only the Filipinos but the government of the Philippine Republic itself. In this latter they succeeded. Their proclamation that United States sway in the archipelago would be made "as free, liberal, and democratic as the most intelligent Filipino desired," "a firmer and surer self-government than their own Philippine Republic could

ever guarantee," operated as a powerful agent of pacification.

May 1, 1899, the Philippine Congress almost unanimously voted for peace with the United States. Aguinaldo consented. Mabini's cabinet, opposing this, was overturned, and a new one formed, pledged to peace. A commission of cabinet members was ready to set out for Manila to effectuate the new order.

A revolution prevented this. General Luna, inspired by Mabini, arrested the peace delegates and charged them with treason, sentencing some to prison, some to death. This occurred in May, 1899. After that time not so much as the skeleton of any Philippine public authority—president, cabinet, or other official—existed. Later opposition to the American arms seemed to proceed in the main not from real Filipino patriotism, but from selfishness, lust of power, and the spirit of robbery.

Everywhere and always Americans had to guard against treachery. In some instances our troops were goaded into making brutal

reprisals, but these disgraces were sporadic, not general, and occurred, when they did occur, under terrible provocation. Devotion to duty, however trying the circumstances, was the characteristic behavior of our officers and men. Deeds of daring occurred daily. On November 14, 1900, Major John A. Logan, son of the distinguished Civil War general, lost his life in battle near San Jacinto. December 19, the brave General Lawton was killed in attacking San Mateo. Systematic opposition to our arms was at last ended by an enterprise involving both nerve and cleverness in high degree.

Our forces captured a message from Aguinaldo asking reinforcements. This suggested to General Frederick Funston, who had served with Cuban insurgents, a plan for seizing Aguinaldo. Picking some trustworthy native troops and scouts, Funston, Captain Hazzard, Captain Newton, and Lieutenant Mitchell, passed themselves off as prisoners and their forces as the reinforcements expected. When the party ap-

proached Aguinaldo's headquarters word was forwarded that reinforcements were coming, with some captured Americans. The stratagem succeeded, and on March 23, 1901, Aguinaldo and some of his officers were made prisoners. Aguinaldo was taken

Fort Malate, Cavite.

to Manila, and there, on April 2, 1901, he swore allegiance to the United States, and, in a proclamation, advised his followers to do the same. Great and daily increasing numbers of them obeyed.

To the Philippines, though Spain's *de facto* sovereignty there was hardly more than nominal, our title, whether or not good

as based on conquest, was unimpeachable considered as a cession by way of war indemnity or sale. Nor, according to the weight of authority, could the right of the federal power to acquire these islands be denied. But did "the Constitution follow the flag" wherever American jurisdiction went? If not, what were the relations of those outlands and their peoples to the United States proper?

On the fundamental question whether the dependencies formed part of the United States the Supreme Court passed in certain so-called "Insular Cases" which were early brought before it. Four of the justices held that at all times after the Paris Treaty the islands were part and parcel of United States soil. Four held that they at no time became such, but were rather "territories appurtenant" to the country.

Mr. Justice Brown gave the "casting" opinion, making it the decision of the court that Porto Rico and the Philippines did not belong to the United States proper,

yet, on the other hand, were not foreign. The revenue clauses of the Constitution did not, therefore, forbid tariffing goods from or going to the islands. In the absence of

The Pasig River, Manila.

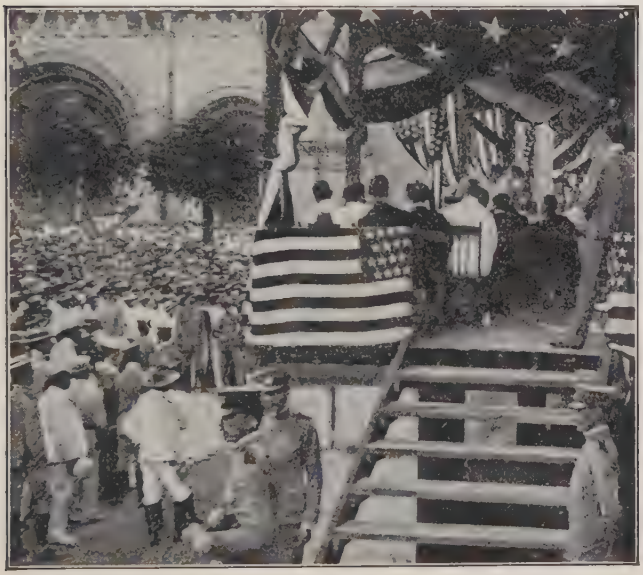
express legislation, the general tariff did not obtain as against imports from the dependencies. This reasoning, it was observed, was equally applicable to mainland territories and to Alaska. The court intimated that, so far as applicable, the Constitution's provisions in favor of personal rights and human liberty accompanied the Stars and

Stripes beyond sea as well as between our old shores.

Unsatisfactory to nearly all as was this utterance of a badly divided court, it sanctioned the Administration policy and opened the way for necessary legislation. It did nothing, however, to hush the anti-imperialist's appeal, based more upon the Declaration of Independence and the spirit of our national ideals, and a bitter controversy raged between those who thought we ought to retain permanent possession of the Philippines, and those who contended that as soon as we had established a stable government in the islands we should leave the Filipinos to themselves.

On April 17, 1900, William H. Taft, of Ohio; Dean C. Worcester, of Michigan; Luke E. Wright, of Tennessee; Henry C. Ide, of Vermont; and Bernard Moses, of California, were commissioned to organize civil government in the archipelago. Three native members were subsequently added to the commission. Municipal governments were to receive attention first, then

governments over larger units. Local self-government was to prevail as far as possible. Pending the erection of a central legislature, the commission was invested



The Inauguration of Governor Taft, Manila, July 4, 1901.

with extensive legislative powers. Civil government was actually inaugurated July 4, 1901. Judge Taft was the first civil governor, General Adna R. Chaffee military governor under him.

Educational work in the Philippines was

pressed from the very beginning of American control. Our military authorities reopened the Manila schools, making attendance compulsory. In a short time the number of schools in the archipelago doubled. By September, 1901, the commission had passed a general school law, and had placed the schools throughout the archipelago under systematic organization and able headship. About 1,000 earnest and capable men and women went out from the States to teach Filipino youth. Colonial history, whether ancient or modern, had never witnessed an educational crusade like this.

CHAPTER XV

POLITICS AT THE TURNING OF THE CENTURY

McKinley and Bryan were presidential candidates again in 1900. It was certain long beforehand that they would be, even when Admiral Dewey announced that he was available. The admiral seemed to offer himself reluctantly, and to be relieved when assured that all were sorry he had done so.

McKinley was unanimously renominated. Unanimously also, yet against his will, Governor Theodore Roosevelt, of New York, was named with him on the ticket. The Democratic convention chose Bryan by acclamation; his mate, ex-Vice-President Adlai E. Stevenson, by ballot.

The 1900 campaign called out rather more than the usual crop of one-idea parties. The Prohibitionists, the anti-fusion or "Middle-of-the-road" Populists, the So-

cialist Labor Party, the Socialist-Democrats, and the United Christian Party all made nominations. The gold Democratic National Committee recommended that State committees keep up their organization, but deemed it inexpedient to name a ticket. Certain volunteer delegates, however, met and nominated Senator Caffery, of Louisiana, and Archibald M. Howe, of Massachusetts, but both declined to run. The Silver Republicans, the Anti-Imperialist League, and the Fusion Populists indorsed the nomination of Bryan. The Fusion Populists, however, named a vice-presidential candidate of their own, namely, Charles A. Towne, of Minnesota, but Towne withdrew in favor of Stevenson.

For a time after his able Indianapolis speech accepting the various nominations, Mr. Bryan's election seemed rather probable in spite of incessant Republican efforts to break him down. He had personally gained much strength since 1896. There was not a State in the Union whose Democratic organization was not to all appearance solid

W. J. Bryan accepting the nomination for President at a Jubilee Meeting held at Indianapolis, August 8, 1900.

for him, an astounding change in four years. Many Gold Democrats had returned to the party; some of them had done so because they believed that the gold standard law, approved March 14, 1900, made it impossible for a President, even if he desired to do so, to place the country's money on an insecure basis without the aid of a Congress friendly in both its branches to such a design.

New issues—imperialism and the trusts—seemed certain to be vote-winners for the Democracy. The cause of anti-imperialism had taken deep hold of the public mind, drawing to its support a host of eminent and respected Republicans. The Democratic platform expressly named this the "paramount issue" of the campaign. The party in power defended its Philippine policy, ever asserting, of course, that so far as consistent with their welfare and our duties the Filipinos must be accorded the largest possible measure of self-government. In this tone was perceived some sensitiveness to the anti-imperialist cry. Though

Republican campaign writers and speakers affected to ignore this issue, some of them denying its existence, imperialism was more and more discussed.

At this time the "Insular Cases" (referred to in the last chapter) had not been decided. It was clear that if the Constitution, of its own force, applied to the new possessions, our administration of these dependencies would be subject to many embarrassing restrictions. Out of this dilemma there was evolved the theory that the United States can possess "appurtenant" territory, subject to, but not part of itself, to which the Constitution does not apply save so far as Congress votes that it shall apply. So construed, the Constitution does not *ex proprio vigore* follow the flag. Under that construction, inhabitants of the acquired islands could not plead a single one of its guaranties unless Congress voted them such a right. If Congress failed to do this, then, so far as concerned the newly acquired populations, the Constitution might as well never

The Republican National Convention, held in Philadelphia, June, 1900.

have been penned. They were subjects of the United States, not citizens.

The Republican party's first avowal of this "imperialist" theory and policy was the Porto Rico tariff bill, approved April 12, 1900, establishing for Porto Rico a line of customs duties differing from that of the United States. This bill was at first disapproved by President McKinley. "It is our plain duty," he said, "to abolish all customs tariffs between the United States and Porto Rico, and give her products free access to our markets." Until after its passage the bill was earnestly opposed both by a number of eminent Republican statesmen besides the President and by nearly all the leading Republican party organs. Every possible plea—constitutional, humanitarian, prudential—was urged against it. The bill passed, nevertheless.

In their long and able arguments against the Porto Rico tariff, Republican editors and members of Congress provided the opposition party with a great amount of campaign material. Often as a Republican

on the hustings or in the press declared imperialism not an issue, or at any rate not an important one, he was drowned in a flood of recent quotations from the most authoritative Republican sources proving that it was not only an issue, but one of the most important ones which ever agitated the Republic. As Democrats put it, Balaam prophesied in favor of Israel.

The Republican campaign watchword was "Protection." Press and platform dilated on the fat years of McKinley's administration as amply vindicating the Dingley Act. "The full dinner pail," said they, "is the paramount issue." Trusts and monopolies they denounced, as their opponents did, but they declared that these "had nothing to do with the tariff." There was wide and intense hostility toward monopolistic organizations. They were decried on all hands as depressing wages, crushing small producers, raising the prices of their own products and lowering those of what they bought, depriving business officials and business travellers of positions, and working a world of other

mischief politically, economically, and socially. They had rapidly multiplied since the Republicans last came into power, and nothing had been done to check the formation of them or to control them.

Why, then, was not Democracy triumphant in the campaign of 1900? When the lines were first drawn a majority of the people probably disapproved the Administration's departure into fields of conquest, colonialism, and empire. Republicans themselves denied that a "full dinner pail" was the most fundamental of considerations. Few Republican anti-imperialists were saved to the party by the venerable Senator Hoar's faith that after a while it would surely retrieve the one mistake marring its record. Nor was it that men like Andrew Carnegie could never stomach the Kansas City and Chicago heresies, or that the Republicans had ample money, or yet that votes were attracted to the Administration because of its war record and its martial face. Agriculture had, to be sure, been remunerative. Also, before election,

the strike in the Pennsylvania hard coal regions had, at the earnest instance of Republican leaders, been settled favorably to the miners, thus enlisting extensive labor forces in support of the *status quo;* but these causes also, whether by themselves or in conjunction with the others named, were wholly insufficient to explain why the election went as it did.

A partial cause of Mr. Bryan's defeat in 1900 was the incipient waning of anti-imperialism, the conviction growing, even among such as had doubted this long and seriously, that the Administration, painfully faulty as were some of its measures in the new lands, was pursuing there absolutely the only honorable or benevolent course open to it under the wholly novel and very peculiar circumstances.

A deeper cause—the decisive one, if any single cause may be pronounced such—was the fact that Mr. Bryan primarily, and then, mainly owing to his strong influence, also his party, misjudged the fundamental meaning of the country's demand for mone-

tary reform. The conjunction of good times with increase in the volume of hard money made possible by the world's huge new output of gold, might have been justly taken as vindicating the quantity theory of money value, prosperity being precisely the result which the silver people of 1896 prophesied as certain in case the stock of hard money were amplified. Bimetallists could solace themselves that if they had, with all other people, erred touching the geology of the money question, in not believing there would ever be gold enough to stay the fall of prices, their main and essential reasonings on the question had proved perfectly correct. Good fortune, it might have been held, had removed the silver question from politics and remanded it back to academic political economy.

Probably a majority of the Democrats in 1900 felt this. At any rate the Kansas City convention would have been quite satisfied with a formal reaffirmation of the Chicago platform had not Mr. Bryan flatly refused to run without an explicit platform restate-

ment of the 1896 position. His hope, no doubt, was to hold Western Democrats, Populists, and Silver Republicans, his anti-imperialism meanwhile attracting Gold Democrats and Republicans, especially at the East, who emphatically agreed with him on that paramount issue. But it appeared as if most of this, besides much else that was quite as well worth while, could have been accomplished by frankly acknowledging and carefully explaining that gold alone had done or bade fair to do substantially the service for which silver had been supposed necessary; for which, besides, it would really have been required but for the unexpected and immense increase in the world's gold crop through a succession of years.

The Republican leaders gauged the situation better. Mr. McKinley, to a superficial view inconsistent on the silver question, was on this point fundamentally consistent throughout. With all the more conservative monetary reformers he merely wished the fall of prices stopped, and such increment to the hard-money supply as would

effect that result. The metal, the kind of money producing the needed increase, was of no consequence. When it became practically certain that gold alone, at least for an indefinite time, would answer the end, he was willing to relinquish silver except for subsidiary coinage.

The law of March 14, 1900, put our paper currency, save the silver certificates, and also all national bonds, upon a gold basis, providing an ample gold reserve. Silver certificates were to replace the treasury notes, and gold certificates to be issued so long as the reserve was not under the legal minimum. If it ever fell below that the Secretary of the Treasury had discretion.

Other notable features of this law were its provision for refunding the national debt in two per cent gold bonds—a bold, but, as it proved, safe assumption that the national credit was the best in the world—and the clause allowing national banks to issue circulating notes to the par value of their bonds.

Our money volume now expanded as rapidly as in 1896 advocates of free coinage

could have expected even with the aid of free silver. July 1, 1900, the circulation was $2,055,150,998, as against $1,650,223,400 four years before. Nearly $163,000,000 in gold certificates had been uttered. The gold coin in circulation had increased twenty per cent for the four years; silver about one-eighth; silver certificates one-ninth. The Treasury held $222,844,953 of gold coin and bullion, besides some millions of silver, paper, and fractional currency.

The Republican victory was the most sweeping since 1872. The total popular vote was 13,970,300, out of which President McKinley scored a clear majority of 443,054, and a plurality over Bryan of 832,280. Of the Northern States Bryan carried only Colorado, Idaho, and Nevada. He lost his own State and was shaken even in the traditionally "solid South." Unnecessarily ample Republican supremacy was maintained in the legislative branch of the Government.

CHAPTER XVI

MR. McKINLEY'S END

THE time had come for North and South America to unite in a noble enterprise illustrating their community of interests. United States people were deplorably ignorant of their southern neighbors, this accounting in part for the paucity of our trade with them. They knew as little of us. Our war with Spain had caused them some doubts touching our intentions toward the Spanish-Americans. An exposition was a hopeful means of bringing about mutual knowledge and friendliness, and such an exposition was held at Buffalo in 1901.

Such a fair could not be ecumenical. At Chicago and Paris World's Fairs had reached perhaps almost their final development. To compete in interest, so soon, with such vast displays, an exposition must

specialize and condense. The authors of the Pan-American, architects, landscape-gardeners, sculptors, painters, and electricians, aimed first of all to create a beautiful spectacle. Perhaps the most novel feature was the coloring. Charles Y. Turner's color-scheme, original and daring, called forth much criticism. With the Chicago White City the Rainbow City at Buffalo was a startling contrast. But the artist knew what he was doing when he boldly applied the gayest and brightest colors to buildings and columns, and added to the quaint architecture that bizarre and oriental touch in keeping with the festal purposes of the occasion. The rich, warm tones formed a perfect background for the white statuary, the green foliage, and the silvery fountains. The Temple of Music was a Pompeian red, Horticultural Hall orange, with details of blue, green, and yellow. The whole effect was fascinating, and at night, when the electric lights illumined and softened the tones, fairy-like.

The supreme glory of the exposition lay

in its electrical illumination. Niagara was used to create a city of light more dazzling than any dream. The centre of light was the Tower. It was suffused with the loveliest glow of gold, ivory, and delicate green, all blending. The lights revealed and interpreted the architecture softening the colors and adding the subtle charm of mystery. A hundred beautiful hues were reflected in the waters of the fountains. The floral effects made by submerged lights in the basin were exquisite, and the witchery of the scene was indescribable.

The chaining of Niagara for electric purposes was of course a prominent feature of the fair. Electricity was almost, or quite, the sole motor used on the grounds; 5,000 horse-power being directly from Niagara's total of 50,000. Niagara circulated the salt water in the fisheries and kept their water at the right temperature. It operated telephones, phonographs, soda fountains, the big search-lights, the elevators, the machines in the Machinery Building, the shows and illusions in the Midway.

Upon invitation President and Mrs. McKinley visited the exposition. On September 5, 1901, the first day of his presence, the Chief Magistrate delivered an address, memorable both as a sagacious survey of public affairs and as indicating a modification of his well-known tariff opinions in the direction of freer commercial intercourse with foreign nations.

"We must not," he said, "repose in fancied security that we can forever sell everything and buy little or nothing. . . . The period of exclusiveness is past. . . . "Reciprocity treaties are in harmony with the spirit of the times; measures of retaliation are not. . . . If perchance some of our tariffs are no longer needed for revenue or to encourage and protect our industries at home, why should they not be employed to extend and promote our markets abroad?" In connection with this thought the President expressed his conviction that we must encourage our merchant marine and, in the same commercial interest, construct a Pacific cable and an Isthmian canal.

The projects of Mr. McKinley's statesmanship thus announced were approved by nearly the entire public, but they were

The last photograph of the late President McKinley. Taken as he was ascending the steps of the Temple of Music, September 6, 1901.

destined to be carried out by other hands. On his second day at Buffalo, Friday, September 6, about four in the afternoon, the

President stood in the beautiful Temple of Music receiving the hundreds who filed past to shake hands with him. A sinister fellow tarried suspiciously, and was pushed forward by the Secret Service attendants. Next behind him followed a boyish-looking workman, his right hand swathed in a handkerchief. As the first made way Mr. McKinley extended his hand to the young man's unencumbered left. The next instant the bandaged right arm raised itself and two shots rang on the air. The President staggered back into the arms of a bystander, while his treacherous assailant was borne to the floor.

Grievously wounded as he was in breast and in stomach, the President's first thoughts were for others. He requested that the news be broken gently to Mrs. McKinley, and, it was said, expressed regret that the occurrence would be an injury to the exposition. As cries of "Lynch him" arose from the maddened crowd, the stricken chief urged those about him to see that no hurt befell the assassin. The latter was

speedily secured in prison to await the result of his black deed, while President McKinley was without delay conveyed to the

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The Milburn Residence, where President McKinley died—Buffalo, N. Y.

Emergency Hospital, where his wounds were dressed.

Except for continued weakness and rapid heart action, the symptoms during the early

days of the succeeding week gave strong hopes of the patient's recovery. At the home of Mr. Milburn, President of the exposition, whose guest he was, President McKinley received the tenderest care and most skilful treatment. So far allayed was anxiety that the Cabinet officers left Buffalo, while Vice-President Roosevelt betook himself to a sequestered part of the Adirondacks. The President himself, vigorous and naturally sanguine, did not give up till Friday, a week from the date of his injury.

Upon that day his condition became alarming. By night the world knew that McKinley was a dying man. In the evening he regained consciousness and bade farewell to those about him. "Good-by, good-by, all; it is God's way; His will be done." The murmured words came from his lips, "Nearer, my God, to Thee; e'en tho' it be a cross that raiseth me."

At the early morning hour of 2.45, Saturday, September 14, the rest which is deeper than any sleep came to the sufferer. The autopsy showed that death was due

Ascending the Capitol steps at Washington, D. C., where the casket lay in state in the Rotunda.

to gangrene of the tissues in the path of the wound, the system having failed to repair the ravages of the bullet that had entered the abdomen.

The next Monday morning, after a simple funeral ceremony at the Milburn mansion, the remains were reverently borne to the Buffalo City Hall, where, till midnight, mourning columns filed past the catafalque. The body lay in state under the Capitol rotunda at Washington for a day, and was borne thence, hardly a moment out of hearing of solemn bells or out of sight of half-masted flags and dumb, mourning multitudes, to the old home at Canton, Ohio. Here the late Chief Magistrate's fellow-townsmen, his old army comrades, and other thousands joined the procession to the cemetery or tearfully lined the streets as it passed.

On the day of the interment, September 19, appropriate exercises, attended by enormous concourses of people, occurred all over the country, and even in foreign parts. In hardly an American town of size could a

single building contain the crowd, overflow meetings being necessary, filling several churches or halls. Special commemorative services were held in Westminster Cathedral by King Edward's orders.

None but the rash undertook, at once after his lamented decease, to assign President McKinley's name to its exact altitude on the roll of America's illustrious men. Ardent eulogists spoke of him as being beside the nation's greatest statesmen, while his most pronounced opponents in life accorded him very high honor. During his career he had been accused of opportunism, of inconsistency, of partiality to the moneyed interests of the country. His views of great public questions underwent change. One of his altered attitudes, much remarked upon, that concerning silver, involved, as pointed out in the last chapter, no change of essential principle. In regard to protection he at last swung to Blaine's position favoring reciprocity, which, as author of the McKinley bill, he had been understood to oppose; but it should be remembered that

his final utterances on the subject contemplated an industrial situation very different from that prevalent during his early years in politics. The United States had become a mighty exporter of manufactured products, competing effectively with England, Germany, and France everywhere in the world.

American material supplied in large part the Russian Trans-Siberian Railroad. American food-stuffs and meats wakened agrarian frenzy in Germany. The island-hive of England buzzed loudly with jealous foreboding lest America capture her world-markets. From an average of close to $163,000,000 annually from 1887 to 1897 United States exports of manufactured products reached in 1898 over $290,000,000, in 1899 over $339,000,000, in 1900 nearly $434,000,000, and in 1901, $412,000,000. As coal-producer the United States at last led Britain, American tin-plate reached Wales itself, American locomotives the English colonies and even the mother-country, while boots and shoes from our factories ruled the markets of West Australia and South Africa.

For bridge and viaduct construction in British domains American bids heavily undercut British bids both in price and in time limit.

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President McKinley's Remains Passing the United States Treasury, Washington, D. C.

His progressive insight into the tariff question betrayed Mr. McKinley's mental activity and hospitality, as his final deliverances thereupon exhibited fearlessness.

None knew better than he that what he said at Buffalo would be challenged by many in the name of party orthodoxy. Even greater firmness was manifest when, at an earlier date, speaking at Savannah, he ranked Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson as among America's "great" sons. With this brave tribute should be mentioned his commendable nomination of the ex-Confederate Generals Fitz-Hugh Lee and Joseph Wheeler as Major-Generals in the United States Army. Such words and deeds showed skilled leadership also. Each was fittingly timed so as best to escape or fend criticism and so as to impress the public deeply.

Not a little of Mr. McKinley's apparent vacillation and of his complaisance toward men and interests representing wealth was due to an endowment of exquisite finesse which stooped to conquer, which led by seeming to follow, or by yielding an inch took an ell. In him was rooted by inheritance a quick sense of the manufacturer's point of view, for his father and grandfather had been iron-furnace men, and a certain

conservative instinct, characteristic of his party, which deemed the counsel of broadcloth wiser than the clamor of rags, and equally patriotic withal. Notwithstanding this, history cannot but pronounce McKinley's love of country, his whole Americanism, in fact, as sincere, sturdy, and democratic as Abraham Lincoln's.

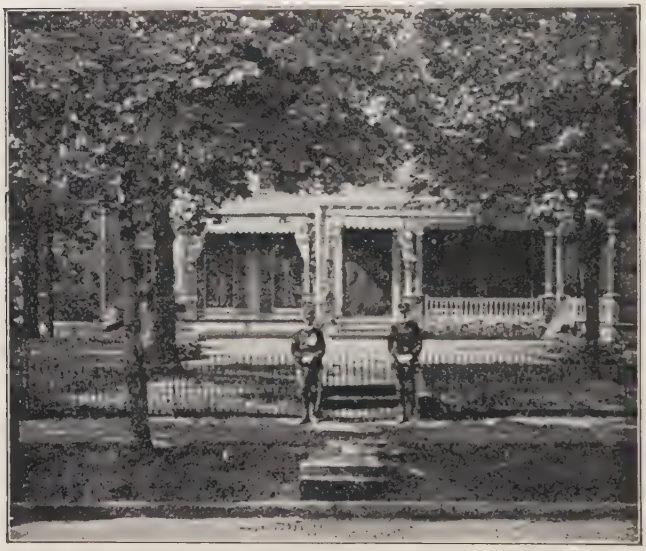
Mr. McKinley's power and breadth as a statesman were greatly augmented by the responsibilities of the presidency. Before his accession to that exalted office he had helped devise but one great public measure, the McKinley Bill, and his speeches upon his chosen theme, protection, were more earnest than varied or profound. But witness the largeness of view marking the directions of April 7, 1900, to the Taft Philippine Commission: "The Commission should bear in mind that the government which they are establishing is designed not for our satisfaction or for the expression of our theoretical views, but for the happiness, peace, and prosperity of the people of the Philippine Islands, and the measures adopted should

be made to conform to their customs, their habits, and even their prejudices, to the fullest extent consistent with the accomplishment of the indispensable requisites of just and effective government."

Most of President McKinley's appointments were wise; several of the most important ones quite remarkably so. He managed discreetly in crises. He saw the whole of a situation as few statesmen have done, penetrating to details and obscure aspects, which others, even experts, had overlooked. During the Spanish War his advice was always wise and helpful, and at points vital. Courteous to all foreign powers, and falling into no spectacular jangles with any, he was obsequious to none. No other ruler, party to intervention in China during the Boxer rebellion in 1900, acted there so sanely, or withdrew with so creditable a record.

What made it certain that Mr. McKinley's name would be forever remembered with honor was not merely or mainly the fact that his administration marked a great

climacteric in our national career. His intimates in office and in public life unanimously testified that in shaping the nation's new destiny he played an active and not a



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The Home of William McKinley, at Canton, Ohio.

passive rôle. He dominated his cabinet, diligently attending to the advice each member offered, but by no means always following it. Party bosses seeking to lead him were themselves led, often without being aware of it, to accomplish his wishes.

As a practical politician in the better sense of the word McKinley was a master. Repeatedly, at critical junctures, he saved his following from rupture, while the opposition became an impotent rout. Hardly a contrast in American political warfare has been more striking than the pitiful demoralization of the Democracy in the campaign of 1900 compared with the closed ranks and solid front of the Republican array. Anti-imperialists like Carnegie and Hoar, silver men like Senator Stewart, and the low-tariff Republicans of the West united to hold aloft the McKinley banner.

The result was not due, as some fancied, to Mr. Hanna. Nor did it mean that there was no discord among Republicans, for there was much. The discipline proceeded from the candidate's influence, from his harmonizing personal leadership. This he exercised not through oratory, for he had none of the tricks of speech, not even the knack of story-telling, but by the mere force of his will and his wisdom.

Mr. McKinley's private character was

pure, exemplary, and noble. His life-long devotion to an invalid wife; his fidelity to his friends; the charm, consideration, and tact of his demeanor toward every one; and, above all, the Christian sublimity of his last days created at once a foundation and a crown for his fame.

Ex-President Cleveland said: "You will constantly hear as accounting for Mr. McKinley's great success that he was obedient and affectionate as a son, patriotic and faithful as a soldier, honest and upright as a citizen, tender and devoted as a husband, and truthful, generous, unselfish, moral, and clean in every relation of life. He never thought of those things as too weak for his manliness."

A special grand jury forthwith indicted the assassin, Leon Czolgosz. He talked freely enough with his guards, refused all intercourse with the attorneys assigned to defend him, and with the expert sent to test his sanity. He was promptly placed upon trial, convicted, sentenced, and executed, all without any of the unseemly incidents

attending the trial of Guiteau after Garfield's assassination. No heed was given to those who, some of them from pulpits, fulminated anarchy as bad as that of the anarchists by demanding that Czolgosz be lynched. These prompt but perfectly orderly and dispassionate proceedings were a great credit to the State of New York.

The assassin had been moved to do the bloody deed by the teaching of red anarchy, which had within seven years struck down the President of France, the Empress of Austria, the King of Italy, and the Prime Minister of Spain. In their fanatic diabolism its devotees impartially hated government, whether despotic or free, and would, no doubt, gladly have made America, the freest of the great commonwealths, for that reason a hatching ground for their dark conspiracies. They were no less hostile to one than to the other of our political parties. The murder had no political significance, though certainly calculated to rebuke virulent editorials and cartoons in political papers, wont to season political debate with

too hot personal condiment, printed and pictorial. President McKinley had suffered from this and so had his predecessor.

Upon such an occasion orderly government, both in the States and in the nation,

Interior of room in Wilcox House where Theodore Roosevelt took the oath of Presidency.

reasonably sought muniment against any possible new danger from anarchy. McKinley's own State leading, States enacted statutes denouncing penalties upon such as assailed, by either speech or act, the life or the bodily safety of any one in authority. The Federal Government followed with a similar anti-anarchist law of wide scope.

Deeply as the country prized McKinley —and the sense of loss by his death increased with the days—Vice-President Theodore Roosevelt took over the presidency with as little jar as a military post suffers from changing guard.

PERIOD VII

PROBLEMS OF THE NEW CENTURY

1902–1912

CHAPTER I

THE RISE OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT

THEODORE ROOSEVELT was born in New York City, October 27, 1858. He was graduated from Harvard in 1880. At the age of twenty-three he entered the New York State Assembly, where he served six years with great credit. Two years he was a "cowboy" in Dakota. He was United States Civil Service Commissioner and President of the New York City Police Board. In 1897 he became Assistant Secretary of the Navy, holding this position long enough to indite the despatch which took Dewey to Manila. He then raised the first United States Volunteer Cavalry, commonly spoken of as "Rough Riders," and

went to Cuba as their lieutenant-colonel. Gallantry at Las Guásimas made him their colonel, the first colonel, Leonard Wood, having received a brigadier-general's commission. Returning from the war, Colonel Roosevelt found himself, as by a magic metamorphosis, Governor of his State, fighting civic battles against growing corporate abuses. He urged compulsory publicity for the affairs of monopolistic combinations, and was prominently instrumental in the enactment of the New York Franchise Tax Law.

The party managers in the 1900 convention hoped by making him Vice-President to remove him from competition for the presidency in 1904. But the most unexpected of the many swift transitions in his career foiled their calculations and brought him in a moment to the summit of a citizen's ambition.

The new chief magistrate was no less honest, fearless, or public-spirited than the recent one; it only remained to be seen whether he were not less astute and cautious. Coming to the office as he did, he was absolutely unfettered, which, in one of so frank a tempera-

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Theodore Roosevelt

At his desk in the executive offices of the White House during his term as president

ment, might prove a danger. He was more popular with the people than with politicians. Though highly educated and used to the best associations, he was more approachable than any of his predecessors. At a public dinner which he attended, one round of cheers was given him as "the President of the United States," another as "Roosevelt," and a third as "Teddy." Had McKinley been in his place a corresponding variation would have been unthinkable.

President Roosevelt's temper and method were in pointed contrast to McKinley's. Whereas McKinley seemed simply to hold the tiller, availing himself of currents that to the eye deviously, yet easily and inevitably, bore him to his objective, Roosevelt strenuously plied the oar, recking little of cross currents or head winds, if, indeed, he did not delight in them. Chauncey Depew aptly styled McKinley "a Western man with Eastern ideas"; Roosevelt, "an Eastern man with Western ideas." This aspect of the new President's character gave him hold on both West and East. Roosevelt was the first President since

Theodore Roosevelt, as Lieut.-Colonel of the "Rough Riders."

William Henry Harrison to bring to his office the vigor and freshness of the frontier, as he was, anomalously, the first city-born or wealthy-born incumbent.

The members of President McKinley's cabinet were invited to retain their portfolios, which they agreed to do. At the time, Roosevelt was reputed to be the foremost civil service reformer in the country. Politicians were

soon made aware that the President regarded fitness for office as the first test. Unfortunately during the presidency of McKinley, some 8,000 offices had been taken out of the competitive lists. During Roosevelt's first term, however, the list of offices placed under the merit system was greatly extended. Within the twenty-one years from the enactment of the first national civil service reform law wonders had been accomplished in that more than one-half of the 300,000 offices in the executive civil service were placed in the classified competitive service.

President Roosevelt stood for liberal reciprocity with Cuba, urging this, at first, with results disastrous to party harmony. He was vindicated by public opinion, but learned wisdom. Though believed to be favorable to a decided easing of custom-house levies, his administration soon frankly avowed itself unable to proceed further than high-protectionists would follow. The evidence of his tariff convictions won him strong support in the West, which was prepared to go greater lengths than he. In the congressional campaign of

1902, ex-Speaker Henderson, of Iowa, a stanch protectionist, withdrew from public life, as was supposed, rather than misrepresent himself by acceding to tariff reform or his constituents by opposing it.

Mr. Roosevelt signalized his accession by an effort to make the federal anti-trust law something more than a cumberer of the statute-book. His inaugural message and innumerable addresses of his boldly handled the whole trust evil and called for the regulation of capitalistic combinations in the interest of the public.

Appreciation of the President's attitude on these matters may be assisted by some notice of the then threatening vigor and universality of the movement toward industrial combination. Mr. Beck, Assistant Attorney-General of the United States, declared in 1892:

"Excessive capitalization of corporations, dishonest management by their executive officers, the destruction of the rights of the minority, the theft of public utilities, the subordination of public interests to private gain, the debauchery of our local legislatures and

executive officers, and the corruption of the elective franchise, have resulted from the facility afforded by the law to corporations to concentrate the control of colossal wealth in the hands of a few men. . . . The question presses ever more importunately for decision whether these marvellous aggregations of capital can be subordinated to the very laws which created them."

Legislation in many States, the enactment of the Sherman anti-trust law by Congress, and the decision of the Supreme Court in the Trans-Missouri case rendered insecure trust agreements of the old type, in which constituent corporations surrendered the control of their affairs to trustees. But the current merely shifted to a different channel, the trust proper giving way to the giant corporation having the same aims, methods, and efficiency, while, as more legal, it was less vulnerable.

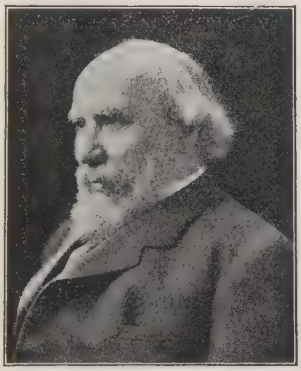
In the railway world, "community of interest" assumed the place of pooling agreements. The Union Pacific acquired large holdings from Collis P. Huntington's estate and controlled the Southern Pacific. The power behind the

Southern Railway got control of nearly all the other Southern railways, including the Atlantic Coast Line, the Plant System, and at last even the Louisville and Nashville. The New York Central dominated the other Vanderbilt roads. The Pennsylvania secured decisive amounts of Baltimore and Ohio stock, as well as weighty interests in the Chesapeake and Ohio and the Norfolk and Western, and so on.

Collis P. Huntington.

Great banking establishments, foremost among them the house of J. P. Morgan & Co., took to financing these schemes. Morgan reorganized the Northern Pacific, and it would forthwith have pooled issues with the Great Northern but for opposition by the State of Minnesota. James J. Hill was master of the Great Northern, and confidence existed between him and Morgan.

They wished a secure outlet for the products of the Northwest, also access to Chicago over a line of their own. After a survey of the field the promoters selected as the most available for the latter office the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy. Purchase of shares in this corporation was quietly begun. Soon the Burlington road was apparently in hand. Prices rose.



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James J. Hill.

The Union Pacific control perceived in the aggression of the two northern lines a menace to its northwestern and Pacific coast connections. The Union Pacific leader, E. H. Harriman, resorted to an unexpected *coup*. He attempted to purchase the Northern Pacific, Burlington and all. A mysterious demand, set Northern Pacific shares soaring. The stock reached $1,000 a share and none was obtainable. Panic arose; bankers and brokers faced ruin.

The two sides now declared a truce. The Northern Securities Company was created, with a capital approaching a billion dollars, to take over the Burlington, Northern Pacific, and Great Northern stocks.

E. H. Harriman.

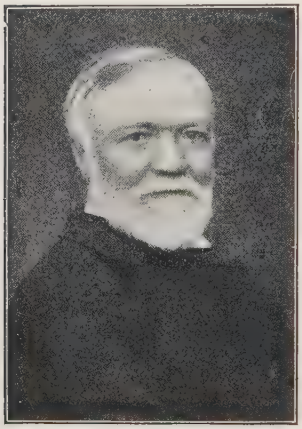
The States of Minnesota and Washington, unable in their own courts to thwart this plan, sought the intervention of the United States Supreme Court. Their suit was vain till the Administration came to the rescue. At the instance of the Attorney-General, an injunction issued from the high court named forbidding the Securities Company to receive the control of the roads, and the holders of the railroad stocks involved to give it over. It was observed, however, that at the very time of the above proceedings the Southern Railways' power obtained control of the Louisville and Nashville without jar or judicial obstruction.

While general, the process of confederation was specially conspicuous in the iron and steel trade. In rapid succession the National Steel Company, the American Sheet Steel Company, and the American Tin Plate Company were each made up of numerous smaller plants. Each of these corporations, with a capital from $12,000,000 to $40,000,000, owned the mines, the ships, and the railways for hauling its products, the mills for manufacturing, and the agencies for sale. Through the efforts of John W. Gates numerous wire and nail works were combined into the American Steel and Wire Company. The Federal Steel Company, the American Bridge Company, the Republic Iron and Steel Company, huge and complete, were dictators each in its field.

John W. Gates.

The Carnegie Steel Company long remained independent. Determined not to enter a "com-

bine," Andrew Carnegie sought to fortify his position. He obtained a fleet of ships upon the lakes, purchased mines, undertook to construct tube works at Conneaut, Ohio, and planned for railroads. A battle of the giants, with loss and possible ruin for one side or the other, impended. Carnegie was finally willing to sell. Hence, the United States Steel Corporation capitalized for a billion dollars. Carnegie and his partners were said to receive about $300,000,000 in bonds of the new corporation, while the other trusts and the promoters absorbed the stock for their properties and services. The underwriting syndicate probably realized $25,000,000.



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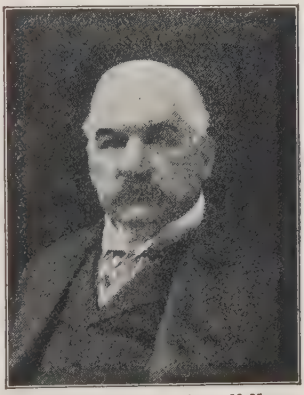
Andrew Carnegie.

The trust creators extended their operations abroad. In 1901 J. Pierpont Morgan and associates acquired the Leyland line of Atlantic

steamships. British nerves had not recovered tone when a steamship combination, embracing not only American and British but also German lines and ship-building firms at Belfast and on the Clyde, was announced. Of the great Atlantic companies, only the Cunard line remained independent. Parliamentary and ministerial assurances of governmental attention only emphasized the strength of the association.



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J. Pierpont Morgan.

One effect of this organization at home was to place the Ship Subsidy Bill, which passed the Senate in 1901, for the time, at least, on the table. The sentiment of the country, especially of the Middle West, would not permit the payment of public money to a concern commercially able to defy Britannia on the sea.

The Yankee Peril confronted Londoners when they saw American capital securing con-

trol of their proposed underground transit system. At their tables they beheld the output of food trusts. One of these, the so-called Beef Trust, called down upon itself in 1902 domestic as well as foreign anathema.

The failure of the corn crop in 1900, together with a scarcity of cattle, tended to raise the price of beef. In 1902 outcry became emphatic. Advance in meat values drew forcibly to view the control held by six slaughtering concerns acting in unison.

The President ordered an investigation, and, as a result, proceedings under the Sherman Act to restrain the great packers from continuing their alleged combination. A temporary injunction was granted. The slow machinery of chancery bade fair to work out a decree, but long before it was on record, alert spirits among the packing firms evolved a new plan not obnoxious to decrees, but effective for union.

If the public suffered from these phalanxed industries while they ran smoothly, it endured peculiar evils from the periodical conflicts between the capital and the labor engaged in them.

The Steel Strike of 1901 was a conflict over the unionizing of certain hitherto non-union plants of the United States Steel Corporation. It resulted in defeat for the strikers and in the disunionizing of plants.

Col. Clements. Gen. Gobin, commanding troops sent to Shenandoah in the coal strike of 1902.

This strike had no such consequences for the consuming public as attended the anthracite coal strike of 1902, which was more bitterly fought in that it was a conflict over wages. The standard of living had been lowered in one of the coal-fields by the introduction of cheap foreign labor. Now the same process threatened the other coal-field.

A strike ordered by the United Mine Workers began May 12, 1902, when one hundred and forty-seven thousand miners went out. Though the record was marred at places, they behaved

Coal strike at Shenandoah, Pa., 1902. A strikers' picket.

well and retained to a large degree public sympathy. When the price of anthracite rose from about $5 a ton to $28 and $30, the parts of the country using hard coal were threatened with a fuel famine and had begun to realize it. For the five months ending October 12th, the strike was estimated to have cost over $126,000,000.

Copyright, 1902, by George Grantham Bain.

The coal strike arbitrators chosen by the President.

Carroll D Wright, Recorder · J H Watkins, General J. M Wilson, Judge Gray, Presiding Officer: E W. Parker, E E Clark, and Bishop Spalding

The operators stubbornly refused to arbitrate or to recognize the union, and the miners, with equal constancy, held their ranks intact.

The problem of protecting the public pressed for solution as never before. The only suggestion at first discussed was arbitration. Enforced arbitration could not be effected in the absence of contract without infringing the workingman's right to labor or to decline to do so; in other words, without reducing him, in case of adverse decision by arbitration, to a condition of involuntary servitude. It looked as though no solution would be reached unless State or nation should condemn and acquire ample portions of the mining lands to be worked under its own auspices and in a just manner. This course was suggested, but nearly all deemed it dangerously radical; nor was it as yet likely to be adopted by Congress or by the Pennsylvania legislature, should these powers be called to deal with the problem.

On October 3 President Roosevelt called the coal operators and President Mitchell of the United Mine Workers to a conference at the White House, urging them to agree. His

effort, at first seeming unsuccessful, was much criticised, but very few failed to praise it when, a few days later, it was found to have succeeded completely. An able and impartial commission, satisfactory to both sides, was appointed by the President to act as arbitrator, both miners and operators agreeing to abide its decrees. The miners, the four hundred thousand women and children dependent on them, the poor beginning to suffer from cold, indeed the whole nation, including, no doubt, the operators, felt relief.

"How much better," said the young President, once, addressing a fashionable assembly, "boldly to attempt remedying a bad situation than to sit quietly in one's retreat, sigh, and think how good it would be if the situation could be remedied!"

CHAPTER II

ROOSEVELT'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION, 1901–1905

THE sentiment noted at the end of the last chapter seemed to be the motive of Mr. Roosevelt's public life. Not only was he better informed on the whole than almost any President who had sat in the chair before, but he was a good lawyer, familiar with national and general history and awake to all contemporary doings, questions, and interests south, west, east, and abroad. He was also more a man of action and affairs than any of his predecessors. He had, in a very high degree, alertness, energy, courage, initiative, dispatch. Physically as well as mentally vigorous, he read much, heard all who could usefully inform him, apprehended easily, decided quickly, and toiled like Hercules. He was just and catholic in spirit, appreciating whatever was good in any section of the country or class of people. He respected precedent but was not its slave. Rather than walk al-

ways in ruts with never a jolt, he preferred some risks of tumbling over hummocks. Few public men of any age or country have more fully met Aristotle's test of a statesman: "ability to see facts as they exist and to do the things needing to be done."

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John Hay, Secretary of State.
[Died July 1, 1905.]

He had able aids; pre-eminent among these were John Hay, Secretary of State, and Elihu Root, Secretary of War. Each was, to say the least, the peer of his greatest predecessors in his office. It was mainly to Mr. Root that we were indebted for starting the Cubans prosperously as an independent nation. His service for the Philippines so far as it went was not less distinguished; and he effected vitally important reorganization and reform in the war office.

A well co-ordinated plan was developed

whereby army officers were given advanced training in the various branches of military science as in the European countries. Neither the President nor Secretary Root advocated a large standing army, but they both strove to bring the army "to the very highest point of efficiency of any army in the civilized world." The ability of Secretary Root to inaugurate reforms in a department which when he became its head was overridden by tradition, was well expressed by President Roosevelt as follows: "Elihu Root is the ablest man I have known in our governmental service. I will go further. He is the greatest man that has appeared in the public life of any country, in any position, on either side of the ocean in my time."

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Elihu Root, Secretary of War. [Secretary of State, July 1905.]

Under Secretary Hay our State Department attained unprecedented prestige, due in part

to the higher position among the nations now accorded us. This result itself Mr. Hay had done much to achieve; and he passed hardly a month in his office without making some further addition to the renown and influence of his country. If the United States has—which may be doubted—raised up diplomatists with Mr. Hay's mastery of international law and practice and his art and skill in conducting delicate negotiations, we have probably never had his equal in diplomatic initiative, or in the thorough preparation and presentation of cases. He did not meet occasions merely but made them, not arbitrarily but for the world's good. Settling the Alaskan boundary favorably to the United States at every point save one, crumbling with the single stroke of his Pauncefote treaty that Clayton-Bulwer rock on which Evarts, Blaine, and Frelinghuysen in turn had tried dynamite in vain, were deeds seldom matched in statecraft.

By an act of Congress, in 1903, a new member was added to the President's cabinet in the person of the Secretary of the Department of Commerce and Labor. George B. Cortel-

you was the first man appointed to that office. Two bureaus, those of corporations and of manufactures, were created for the department. The other bureaus, such as the Bureau of Statistics, Bureau of Standards of Weights and Measures and Coast and Geodetic Survey, were transferred from the other departments. The place of this new department was defined by the President in the following: "to aid in strengthening our domestic and foreign markets, in perfecting our transportation facilities, in building up our merchant marine, in preventing the entrance of undesirable immigrants, in improving commercial and industrial conditions, and in bringing together on common ground those necessary partners in industrial progress—capital and labor."

Photograph by Rice.

George B. Cortelyou, Secretary of the Department of Commerce and Labor.

Among the problems engaging President

Roosevelt none was of wider interest than the construction of an Atlantic-Pacific canal. A commission of nine, Rear-Admiral Walker its head, had been set by President McKinley

The Isthmian Canal Commission, taken March 22, 1904.

1. Col. Frank J. Hecker. 2. William Barclay Parsons. 3. Wm. H. Burr. 4. C. E. Grunsky. 5. Ad. J. G. Walker. 6. B. M. Harrod. 7. Gen. Geo. W. Davis.

to find the best route. It began investigation in the summer of 1899, visiting Paris to examine the claims of the French Panama Company, and also Nicaragua and Panama. It surveyed, platted, took borings, and made a minute and valuable report upon the work

which each of the proposed canals would require.

The most practicable routes were Nicaragua and Panama. The Nicaragua way was between three and four times the longer—183 miles to 49; 38 hours from ocean to ocean as against 12. The Panama way was straighter, had less elevation at its summit, and required fewer locks. Congress finally decided to construct a high level lock-canal. The cost of keeping up and operating a Panama canal was estimated at six-tenths that of one across Nicaragua. Harbor expenses and facilities would be nearly the same for both lines. The time required for construction, probably nine or ten years, would be a trifle the less at Nicaragua. Control works, to keep always the proper depth of water in the canal, could be more easily maintained at Panama.

Panama political and commercial complications were serious. The isthmus was Colombia territory, and, since October, 1899, a civil war had been raging in that republic. Its financial condition was desperate. Two hundred million inconvertible paper pesos had de-

depreciated to the value of two cents each in gold, yet were legal tender for all obligations. In such a country, especially as war was in progress, the only government able to maintain itself was despotic. Civil troubles were intensified by dissension between Catholics and Protestants. Revolution accompanied any change in administration.

Under Ferdinand de Lesseps, creator of the Suez Canal, the French company had performed extensive excavations at Panama. The New Panama Canal Company of France held certain concessions from the Colombian government. The value of its assets was $109,000,000 at most. If we dug at Nicaragua these would be worth little. Besides, a Nicaragua canal completed, some $6,000,000 of stock owned by the French company in the Panama railroad would dwindle in value.

The validity of the French company's rights was questioned. Its agreement to work some each year had not been kept. Its charter was to expire in October, 1904, but, for 5,000,000 francs, the Colombia President granted a six-year extension. Even with this the French

franchise would revert to Colombia in 1910. Colombia wished delay. The United States transcontinental railroads did not want a canal, as it would divert from them heavy, bulky, and imperishable freight. They therefore joined Colombia in seeking delay, playing off the Nicaragua plan against the Panama, hoping to defeat both.

Late in 1901, newspapers in the United States began urging the purchase from Colombia of a land belt across the isthmus to be United States territory. Our Senate, December 16, 1901, by a vote of 72 to 6, ratified the Hay-Pauncefote treaty with Great Britain, in which it was agreed that we should build a canal, allowing all other nations to use it. Meantime, spite of the fact that the Walker commission had recommended Nicaragua route, public sentiment began to favor Panama. Even the Walker commission changed to this view.

The Spooner act of Congress, approved June 28, 1902, authorized the President to build an isthmian canal. The Panama properties and franchises were to be bought if he could get good title and also obtain the fee of a right of

way from Colombia; otherwise he must pierce Nicaragua. The act provided for all necessary funds. The French company's claims were in-

The American Isthmus, showing routes investigated for a ship-canal.

——— Routes investigated by the Isthmian Canal Commission.

. . . . . Routes investigated by others.

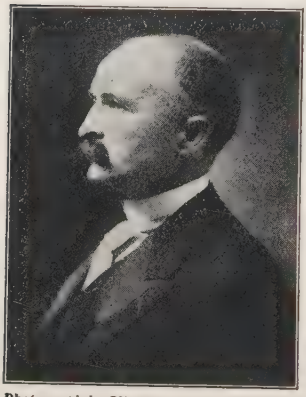
vestigated, pronounced valid, and in due time acquired by the United States.

Effort to secure from Colombia the required territorial rights was made in the proposed Hay-Herran treaty, ratified by our Senate,

73 against 5, March 17, 1903, under which we were to pay Colombia, besides an annual rental, $10,000,000 for the lease of a belt six miles wide from sea to sea. August 17, 1903, the Colombian Senate rejected this treaty, and, October 18, the government of that country proposed another, involving the payment by us of $25,000,000 instead of $10,000,000. If we offered this, would not the price rise to $30,000,000 or more?

Papers in the United States argued for a revolution in Panama. The isthmus, it was urged, was in time nearer to Washington than to Bogota. All Panama interests centred in the canal. Should Nicaragua get the canal, Colon and Panama would be deserted. Both places owed their peace to the presence of our navy. On the principle that treaties concerning territory run with the territory, ignoring changes of sovereignty, our time-honored obligation to keep peace on the isthmus, bound us, if Panama set up for herself, to protect her even against Colombia. England would concur. English ships would use the canal more than ours. Great Britain, risking and spending

nothing, would gain incalculably. France, too, would acquiesce. The Frenchmen got some $40,000,000 if the canal crossed Panama but lost everything if it passed to Nicaragua. Other European nations wished the canal built and felt that now was the accepted time. Latin-American States alone showed sympathy with Colombia.



Photograph by Clinedinst.

M. Bunau-Varilla,
Minister from Panama.

Revolution took place. On the afternoon of November 3, 1903, the Panama city council declared that city independent of Colombia. Colon followed. A provisional Panama government was organized. November 6 we recognized Panama as an independent State. November 7 she appointed M. Bunau-Varilla her diplomatic agent at Washington. November 13 he was, as such, formally received by President Roosevelt. November 18 Secretary Hay and M. Bunau-Varilla signed a treaty whose first

article read: "The United States guarantees and will maintain the independence of the Republic of Panama." Articles II and III gave us, in effect, sovereignty over a ten-mile wide canal zone between the oceans. This treaty was ratified by Panama December 2, and by our Senate February 23, 1904. November 16, 1903, Colombia protested to Great Britain against our action, and, November 28, offered us a canal concession free if we would permit her to subjugate Panama.

Both at home and abroad the administration was charged with sharp practice for its Panama *coup*, and the case made out by critics was *prima facie* strong—less, indeed, on its legal than on its ethical and prudential side. We had allowed ourselves to profit by Colombia's distress, encouraged secession in federal republics like our own, and rendered ourselves and our Monroe doctrine objects of dread throughout Central and South America. Still, Colombia had been so stiff and greedy and the settlement was in the main so happy, that censure soon subsided. All the powerful nations speedily followed our example and recognized Panama's independence.

In September, 1900, the city of Galveston was visited by one of the greatest disasters known in American history. A fierce storm swept the waters of the gulf over the island on which

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Great heaps of wreckage piled high by the Galveston disaster.

Galveston is situated, destroying property aggregating many millions of dollars and causing the loss of 6,000 lives out of the total population of 37,000. For a time it seemed that the site of the city would have to be abandoned, for the highest land on which build-

ings stood was but a few feet above the highest waves. It was determined, however, to build a stone wall three miles in length which should be massive enough to protect the city from any similar attack.

The management of public affairs during the rebuilding of the city was entrusted to a committee of experts. So efficiently and economically was the administration of the government, that the Galveston Plan, commonly spoken of as the Commission Plan, soon became a model for municipal organization. A modification of this plan was soon put into operation at Des Moines, Iowa. This plan consists of government by five salaried persons, one of them acting as mayor. This body performs both legislative and executive duties, each member being in charge of a department of the city government. The arguments in favor of this type of government are: (1) Responsibility is easily located; (2) a few men receive such salaries that they may be expected to give their whole time to the duties of their offices; (3) more civic interest will be aroused. All

officers are subject to removal at any time by vote of a certain proportion of the people.

The Cuban government was organized in the spring of 1902. On May 20 of that year, Governor-General Wood for the United States turned over the government house at Havana to President Tomaso Estrada y Palma. Thus was kept to the letter—a noble example of public faith—the promise we made when intervening in Cuba, that we would not acquire territory in the island.

Those who prophesied a short life for the new republic and a reign of fraud and corruption were mistaken. During the first year economy became the rule in the administration of all branches of the public service, the government was self-supporting, and a balance accumulated in the treasury. Moreover, the reforms inaugurated by Americans continued. Some 3,400 teachers were employed in the island and 120,000 pupils were in constant attendance in the schools. In all parts of the island the effects of American rule were visible.

Cuba could not gain prosperity at a

bound. Whereas the island should, under natural conditions, have had $30,000,000 to $40,000,000 due her from foreign countries in 1902, she was $50,000,000 in debt. Her manufactures were insignificant. It was estimated that, in the year named, $80,000,000 of American money was invested in Cuba. The main enterprises were railroads, sugar and tobacco plantations, mines, and fruit farms.

Free commercial intercourse with Spain no longer existing, Cuban sugar and tobacco producers sought markets in the United States, leading to the "reciprocity" conflict touched upon in a previous chapter. During 1902 a reciprocity treaty was negotiated and promptly ratified in Cuba. Our Senate amended it and returned it to Cuba for reconsideration. Brought hither again, it was passed by our Senate in December, 1903. President Roosevelt signed it December 17, declaring its provisions effective in ten days.

The same interests that forbade Cuban reciprocity opposed tariff concessions to the

Philippines. A 25 per cent reduction from the Dingley rates was the best that Congress would grant, though the commission besought one of at least 75 per cent. For a time our behavior in this too much resembled English and Spanish dealings with colonies centuries ago. The United States acquired from the Philippine religious orders 422,337 acres of land, three-fifths of it highly cultivated and thickly inhabited, for $7,239,000. In all, the Government owned about 61,000,000 out of the perhaps 70,000,000 acres of land in the islands. Of the government lands, 40,000,000 acres were forest.

The law of July 1, 1902, to supplement the Philippine Commission, provided for a native Assembly of not more than 100 members or less than 50, with annual sessions of 90 days. Municipal autonomy was allowed and became common. An efficient constabulary was established, also a Philippine mint and coinage system on a gold basis. Careful exploitation of the agricultural, mineral, and other resources of the

islands was provided for, as well as an increasing number of public improvements in the interest of order, health, and cleanliness. To promote investment in the Philippine

The Baltimore fire.
Lombard and Calvert Streets, showing Continental and Equitable Buildings.

public works, 4 per cent bonds were issued, guaranteed by the United States.

Preparatory to forming the Assembly the Commission took a census of the islands. In 1905 the population returned from 342 islands was 7,635,426. Of this number only about 9 per cent were wild tribes, though more than half the entire population could

neither read nor write in any language. Of the 370,000 pupils in the newly established schools, or double the number in attendance two years previously, one in nine on the

The Baltimore fire.
Hopkins Place and German Street, looking east.

average had some understanding of English. Twelve thousand adults were in the night schools, chiefly engaged in acquiring the English language.

In February, 1904, a fire broke out in the heart of the city of Baltimore. Some 1,337 structures were either entirely destroyed or rendered unfit for occupancy. The loss in

buildings and other property destroyed was about $75,000,000. With a few exceptions, the financial district of the city was burned.

Copyright, 1904, William H. Rau, Philadelphia.

Opening Day at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition. President D. K. Francis delivering the opening address.

For a time it was feared that the losses would be so great that restoration could not be made, but new plans were projected which included broader streets and better buildings. Instead of a decrease in the number of business concerns, there was an

increase through the entrance of firms from the outside.

The Louisiana Purchase Exposition at St. Louis was opened April 30, 1904, and continued for seven months. It commemorated the acquisition of the Louisiana territory which was consummated April 30, 1803, marking one of the greatest events in American history. Out of this area had been carved thirteen States and two territories wherein over 17,000,000 people were making their homes.

The design for the exposition represented the work of ten of the most distinguished architects of the country. The buildings, grouped in perfect taste, mostly of noble style, had 128 acres of floor space, far beyond that at the disposal of any preceding fair. The grounds also were unprecedentedly ample and beautifully diversified, containing about 1,200 acres. The total attendance, 18,741,073, fell short of that at Chicago in 1893 by over 8,000,000.

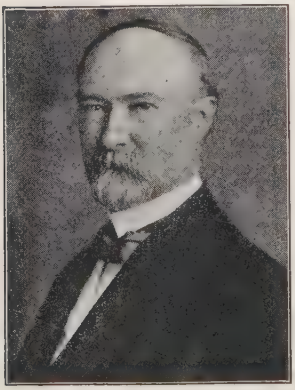
CHAPTER III

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1904

THE Republican convention met at Chicago, June 21, and on June 23 nominated Theodore Roosevelt for President. President Roosevelt's nomination was a certainty from the beginning. This action was demanded by the rank and file of Republicans, for his achievements were popular. Among the problems which he had helped to solve were those growing out of the war with Spain; settlement of the anthracite coal strike; creation of the Department of Commerce and Labor; and the investigation and prosecution of dishonesty in the post-office department.

Plans for the convention had all been matured in advance with the exception of the selection of a candidate for Vice-President. By the time the convention assembled the opinion was general that for geographical

reasons some one from Indiana should be named for this office. Charles Warren Fairbanks, a leading lawyer in Indianapolis, who was serving his second term in the United States Senate, was nominated without any real opposition. He had served as a member of the Joint High Commission to adjust international questions of moment between the United States and Great Britain.



Charles W. Fairbanks,
Vice-President of the United States.

Grover Cleveland and William Jennings Bryan had declared they would not be candidates for the presidency and the Democratic party was in a dilemma. Both the conservative and the radical elements of the party declared they would write the platform and name the candidates. Alton Brooks Parker, Chief Judge of the Court of Appeals of New York, who was supported by Grover Cleveland, came

The Republican convention at Chicago, 1904.

gradually into prominence as the candidate of the conservatives and William Randolph Hearst of the radicals.

The chief contest came in the Democratic convention of New York. There Judge Parker was supported by David B. Hill, ex-United States senator, and August Belmont, a New York banker. In consequence it was declared by the opposition that Judge Parker was the candidate of the trusts, Wall Street magnates, and a class of politicians of which Hill was the type. This view was taken by Bryan. In spite of the opposition of Tammany leaders and the Hearst faction, twice as many Parker as Hearst delegates were chosen.

William R. Hearst.

In the convention, which met at St. Louis, July 9, Judge Parker received 658

votes for President on the first ballot, Hearst received 200, and there were a few scattering votes. The requisite two-thirds came to Parker before the result of the ballot was announced. Henry G. Davis, of West Virginia, was named for the office of Vice-President.

He had served two terms in the United States Senate, had declined the office of Postmaster-General under President Cleveland, was very wealthy, and noted for his philanthropy.

Bryan demanded that the platform should be silent on the question of the money standard, but Parker declined the nomination unless it should be understood that he would maintain the gold standard, and his declaration was endorsed by the convention.

There were no distinguishing issues between the two leading parties. The money question had disappeared and both parties were outspoken in their declarations against trusts and combinations of capital.

The Populist party, in a convention made

The Democratic convention at St. Louis, 1904.

up of delegates from one-half the States, nominated Thomas E. Watson, of Georgia, and Thomas H. Tubbles, of Nebraska, for President and Vice-President, respectively. There were two Socialist conventions: one, that of the Social Democratic party, nominated Eugene V. Debs, of Indiana, for President, and the Socialist Labor party named Charles H. Corregan, of New York, for the same office. The nominees of the Prohibitionist party were Silas C. Swallow, of Pennsylvania, for President, and George W. Carroll, of Texas, for Vice-President.

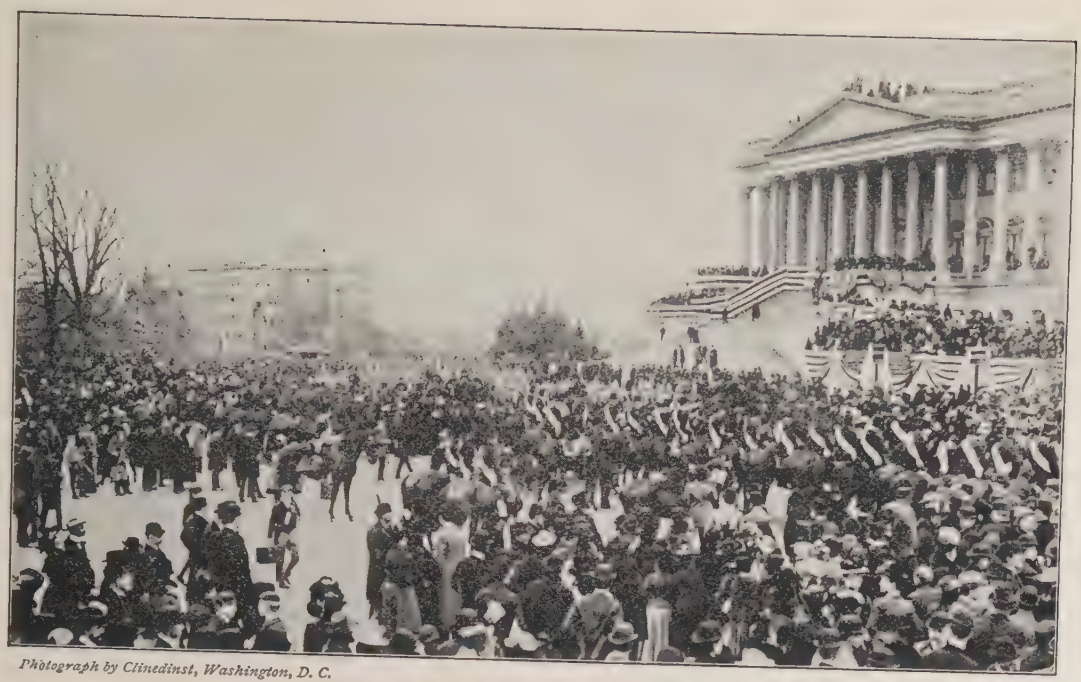
The campaign was noteworthy on account of the apathy, which was very general. Heated discussions so characteristic of previous political contests were seldom heard, and arguments were addressed to the intelligence of voters rather than to passion and prejudice.

It has been called a reading rather than a speaking campaign. The leading Republican document was a pamphlet containing two notable addresses. One of these was delivered by John Hay at Jackson, Mich.,

on the occasion of the celebration of the semi-centennial of the founding of the Republican party. He attributed to that party the success in the conduct of public affairs since 1860, and praised President Roosevelt as a man and great administrator. The other speech was similar in content, and was delivered by Elihu Root as temporary chairman of the Republican convention.

Alton B. Parker.

Toward the close of the campaign, the charge was made that the Republicans were endeavoring to win through a wholesale purchase of votes. It was asserted that George B. Cortelyou, manager of the campaign, having obtained secrets of the conduct of some of the great corporations, was using that knowledge to force them to contribute to the Republican fund.



Photograph by Clinedinst, Washington, D. C.

Inauguration of President Roosevelt, March 4, 1905.

A second charge proclaimed that the administration had changed its attitude toward certain corporations and that the magnates of Wall Street, having decided to elect Roosevelt, were contributing generously to the Republican campaign fund. Shortly before the day for the election, Judge Parker in a series of speeches, announced his belief in these reports. President Roosevelt admitted that corporations were contributing to the Republican campaign fund, as they were to the Democratic campaign fund, but he declared that Mr. Parker's statements that the Republicans were blackmailing the trusts were "unqualifiedly and atrociously false. As Mr. Cortelyou has said to me more than once during this campaign, if elected I shall go into the presidency unhampered by any pledge, promise, or understanding of any kind, sort or description, save my promise, made openly to the American people, that so far as in my power lies I shall see to it that every man has a square deal, no less and no more." In his

reply, Judge Parker reiterated the charge, but gave no concrete proofs.

Out of a total vote of 13,544,705, Roosevelt received 7,630,893 votes, or 2,524,244 more than his leading competitor. His majority was 1,717,081. Debs received 397,308 votes; Swallow, 258,039; Watson, 114,306; Corregan, 32,516. Thirty-three States gave Roosevelt majorities and twelve Southern States returned majorities for Parker. In the electoral college Roosevelt received 336 votes and Parker 140. A surprising feature of the election was the large number of independent votes cast, as shown by the fact that Minnesota, Massachusetts, Missouri, and Montana, while giving majorities for the Republican candidates, elected Democratic governors, and in several other States a similar tendency was manifest in the divergence between the vote for the national candidates and local candidates.

CHAPTER IV

FOREIGN RELATIONS DURING ROOSEVELT'S "SECOND" TERM

THROUGHOUT the four years succeeding March 4, 1905, when he again took the oath of office, President Roosevelt continued to be an aggressive leader of the people. John Hay, who for seven years had so efficiently performed his duties as Secretary of State, remained in that office until his death in June, 1905. To the vacant post President Roosevelt called Elihu Root, who had resigned as Secretary of War early the preceding year. William H. Taft, former Governor of the Philippines, had succeeded Root as Secretary of War.

The United States, having become a world power after the war with Spain, assumed leadership in the adjustment of Chinese problems. At the close of the century American manufacturers had built up

in China a market for their cotton goods which they desired to extend. At the same time strife arose among some of the European nations for trade advantages in that empire. Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia, and Italy were demanding for their citizens concessions, leases, franchises, and special trade privileges in various parts of that country. Gradually, spheres of influence covering certain regions were acquired and it seemed probable that China would be partitioned among the European Powers as Africa had been in the previous decade. This would be a blow to American export trade. Now the acquisition of the Philippine Islands gave us a vantage-point from which we could consistently exert influence in Oriental affairs. In September, 1899, John Hay addressed a note to the European Powers interested, asking recognition of the policy of the "open door," which means that no power should exclude the citizens of other nations from equal trade rights, within its sphere of influence, in China. Without winning complete ac-

ceptance from all the nations, the justice of this policy was, in the main, approved.

During the following year came the Boxer Rebellion in which there were massacres of Europeans and Americans. When the foreign legations were besieged in Peking, United States troops took part in the expedition which marched to their relief. Seizure of Chinese territory, as indemnity, might have followed, but Secretary Hay brought the influence of this country to bear in securing guarantees of the territorial integrity of China and equal trade rights in its ports.

The total indemnity which China obligated itself to pay the governments, societies, and private individuals was $333,000,000. Of this sum, $24,400,778 was allotted to the United States. As a mark of friendship for China, Congress, upon the recommendation of President Roosevelt, 1907, cancelled the obligation of China to pay that part of the stipulated indemnity in excess of $11,655,492, or an amount adequate to cover the actual amount of the claims.

This generous conduct prompted the Chinese Government to devote the funds thus remitted to the sending of Chinese students to this country for their education. Hundreds of these students have since entered our schools and colleges.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century civilized peoples devoted much attention to the development of methods for settling differences between nations through arbitration. On May 18, 1899, there assembled at the call of the Czar of Russia the first Hague Peace Conference, a body in which the United States was represented. Unfortunately for the world, an effort to limit armaments was blocked by militarists, but a permanent International Court of Arbitration was created.

This court was convened for the first time May 18, 1901. The first case coming before the tribunal—the Pious Fund Case—was presented by the United States and Mexico, September 15, 1902. Up to 1846 the Mexican Government had paid annual interest on some property administered by

it but belonging to the Catholic church. Part of it was situated in what is now California. After 1848, when this California estate came under United States jurisdiction, Mexico refused to pay that part of the church outside of Mexico its share. This difference between our Government and Mexico the Hague tribunal took up. It favored the United States contention, giving its proportion of the Mexican payments to the Catholic church in California.

A second case, involving issues of war and peace, arose from the action of Great Britain and Germany against Venezuela in the winter of 1902–1903. Subjects of these as well as of other powers had claims against Venezuela. That country was in financial straits and its creditors pressed. December 9, 1902, British and German war-ships sunk or seized some Venezuelan vessels; next day they landed marines at La Guayra, who took possession of the custom house; the 14th they bombarded and demolished a fort at Puerto Cabello.

President Roosevelt believed that the

Monroe Doctrine was in grave danger of being violated. Having ascertained that Great Britain was following Germany's lead in a half-hearted fashion, he summoned the German ambassador to the White House and informed him that the United States could not acquiesce in the seizure of Venezuelan territory and that the dispute must be arbitrated. The ambassador replied that Germany would not arbitrate. The President then said that if in ten days the Kaiser's government had not agreed to arbitrate, he would send Admiral George Dewey and the American fighting fleet, then stationed in Porto Rican waters, to Venezuela to see that Germany did not take possession of any Venezuelan soil. Within the allotted time Germany gave in, and President Roosevelt thereupon congratulated the Kaiser upon his friendship for arbitration. More than a dozen years elapsed before the real facts in the matter became known to the world at large. The claims not only of Germany but also of nine other powers were submitted to the Hague tri-

bunal, and all were greatly scaled down. The amount ordered paid to German citizens was less than a third of what they had demanded.

In 1903 Andrew Carnegie donated $1,500,000 for the purpose of erecting a "palace of peace," the permanent headquarters of this court. The deed of trust states: "The establishment of a permanent Court of Arbitration by the treaty of the 29th of July, 1899, is the most important step forward, of a world-wide humanitarian character, that has ever been taken by the joint powers, as it must ultimately banish war, and further, being of opinion that the cause of peace will greatly benefit by the erection of a court house and library for the permanent Court of Arbitration." Unhappily not all these fond hopes were destined to be realized.

Two notable congresses were held in the United States during the year 1904 for the purpose of promoting the peace of the world. The Inter-Parliamentary Union held a meeting, the twelfth in its history, in connection with the World's Fair at St.

Louis. This organization was founded at Paris in 1888 by thirty members of the French Chamber of Deputies and ten members of the British Parliament, for the purpose of promoting the cause of peace and arbitration. Scoffed at from the beginning, the Union continued to grow until it included parliamentary delegates from every European country having a constitutional form of government.

Two important resolutions resulted from the gathering. One of these called upon the powers to intervene and put an end to the war between Russia and Japan. The other invited the President of the United States to call a second peace congress, similar to the Hague conference.

On October 3 of the same year an international peace congress was held in Boston. Here, as in every previous congress, the two topics to receive primary consideration were arbitration and disarmament.

In response to the resolution adopted at St. Louis, President Roosevelt, on October 20, 1904, invited the nations which had

taken part in the first Hague Conference to another conference at the same place. But in his message to Congress of that year he defined very clearly his own position, condemning in no uncertain terms the thought of peace at any price. "There are kinds of peace," he said, "which are highly undesirable, which are in the long run as destructive as any war. The peace of tyrannous terror, the peace of craven weakness, the peace of injustice—all these should be shunned as we shun unrighteous war."

Favorable replies to the invitation sent by President Roosevelt were received from all the nations. Russia, then in the midst of war with Japan, while approving, stipulated that the conference should not be called until the end of that war. Peace was restored, in the summer of 1905, as a result of skilful management by President Roosevelt, who in recognition of his services to humanity received the Nobel peace prize. Soon afterward Emperor Nicholas II issued an invitation to fifty-three nations to send representatives to such a conference. For

the first time, nearly every independent nation on the globe was represented among the delegates in an international gathering of this nature. It met at The Hague during the summer of 1907.

While belief was reasserted by the confer-

First session of the second Peace Conference, The Hague, Holland.

ence that there should be obligatory arbitration of all questions relating to treaties and international problems of a legal nature, the principle was not adopted, although thirty-two nations of the forty-five represented favored it.

Before the end of the year 1908, one hun-

dred and thirty-five arbitration treaties had been concluded. The United States was a party to twelve of these. Most of the treaties bound the signatory powers to submit to the Hague tribunal all differences in so far as they do not affect "the independence, the honor, the vital interests, or the exercise of sovereignty of the contracting countries, and provided it has been impossible to obtain an amicable solution by means of direct diplomatic negotiations or by any other method of conciliation.

From the time of the promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine, there has been a distant friendship on our part for the Latin-American countries. In 1881, with the desire of emphasizing the leadership of the United States in the western hemisphere, James G. Blaine proposed a congress of all the American nations. Nothing came of the proposal at the time, but in 1888 Congress passed a resolution providing for such an international conference. The meeting was held in Washington the following year, and Secretary Blaine, as chairman, exercised

great influence. While the direct results of the meeting were not great—principally a declaration in favor of the arbitration of disputes among these nations—the indirect benefits were considerable. In 1901 a sec-

Courtesy of the Pan-American Union.

Monroe Palace, where the third Pan-American Conference was held in Rio de Janeiro.

ond Pan-American congress was held in the City of Mexico.

July 4, 1906, the third Pan-American conference was opened at Rio Janeiro. Among the leading questions discussed were: (1) the right of creditor nations to enforce by war on the debtor nations contractual obli-

gations, or the right to use gun-boats as collection agents; and (2) those relating to commercial intercourse. Besides the regular delegates from the United States, Elihu Root, Secretary of State, was present at the opening session. His address at this meeting, together with his visit to the leading cities, served to inaugurate a new understanding between these countries and the United States.

"We wish for no victories," he said, "but those of peace; for no territory except our own; for no sovereignty except the sovereignty over ourselves. We deem the independence and equal rights of the smallest and weakest member of the family of nations entitled to as much respect as those of the greatest empire, and we deem the observance of that respect the chief guaranty of the weak against the oppression of the strong. We neither claim nor desire any rights or privileges or powers that we do not freely concede to every American republic. We wish to increase our prosperity, to expand our trade, to grow in wealth, in

wisdom, and in spirit, but our conception of the true way to accomplish this is not to pull down others and profit by their ruin, but to help all friends to a common prosperity and a common growth, that we may all become greater and stronger together."

The International Bureau of American Republics was founded as a result of the first Pan-American conference. The original plans of the founders were not carried out owing to a lack of interest on the part of the Department of State as well as in the foreign offices of the South American countries. Secretary Root determined to make this bureau an efficient agency for bringing about better relations between the two continents. He defined the main purpose to be not only to build up trade and commerce among all American nations, but to promote more friendly relations, a better understanding of each other, and the general prosperity and well-being of all the countries of the American continents. Through gifts from Andrew Carnegie and contributions from the different South

American states a splendid modern building, costing $1,000,000, was erected in Washington, 1908, as the home of the Bureau of the Pan-American Republics. Besides other activities, the Bureau pub-

Photograph by Clinedinst.

The Bureau of the Pan-American Republics.

lishes a monthly periodical which contains information on the commerce, new enterprises, and general development of each republic.

With these new relationships came a new interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine. At various times European nations have en-

gaged in controversies with South American states over the payment of debts due the citizens of the former. The question has then arisen, to what extent shall the United States permit the use of force against the debtor nations? The wider application of the Monroe Doctrine under President Cleveland looking toward the maintenance of the rights of the weaker American nations, has been followed by recognition of our obligation to secure the performance of duties by those nations. Said President Roosevelt (1905): "We cannot permanently adhere to the Monroe Doctrine unless we succeed in making it evident, in the first place, that we do not intend to treat it in any shape or way as an excuse for aggrandizement on our part at the expense of the republics to the south of us; second, that we do not intend to permit it to be used by any of these republics as a shield to protect that republic from the consequences of its own misdeeds against foreign nations; third, that inasmuch as by this doctrine we prevent other nations from interfering on

this side of the water, we shall ourselves in good faith try to help those of our sister republics, which need such help, upward toward peace and order."

The immediate cause for this statement by President Roosevelt was the problem confronting our government on account of the bankrupt condition of the Republic of Santo Domingo. Debts had accumulated for over thirty years until by the beginning of 1905 they amounted to more than $32,000,000. Each successive ruler became a more reckless borrower and new loans were secured upon harsher terms.

Finally affairs were brought to a crisis on account of the pressure on the part of the French and Italian governments for the payment of the claims of their citizens. President Roosevelt intervened, and an agreement was signed by representatives of the government of Santo Domingo and of the United States whereby the United States was to undertake the task of collecting and apportioning the revenues of Santo Domingo. Forty-five per cent of the total

receipts were to be used in carrying on the affairs of the republic and the balance was to go to pay the indebtedness. For two years the Senate failed to ratify the treaty, but with the revolutionists on the island growing stronger and the European Powers becoming more insistent, President Roosevelt assumed responsibility and appointed an American as receiver of customs. The plan proved successful, and finally the treaty was ratified by the Senate, February 25, 1907. The United States, in a sense, became a trustee of Santo Domingo, and thus established a new relation between this country and the smaller republics of the western hemisphere. The policy thus adopted has sometimes been called the Roosevelt corollary to the Monroe Doctrine.

While President Roosevelt advocated peace, he believed that the best means to preserve peace was suitable preparation for war. In his message to Congress, 1904, he said: "There is no more patriotic duty before us as a people than to keep the navy

adequate to the needs of this country's position. Our voice is now potent for peace, and is so potent because we are not afraid of war. But our protestations would neither receive nor deserve the slightest attention if we were impotent to make them good." At all times he urged a larger and more efficient navy. For years, before he became Assistant Secretary of the Navy, he had been a student of naval affairs. He found that there was no programme for building ships as in the European countries, and that there was general unpreparedness for war.

Before the war with Spain, the American navy was so inferior that it was excluded from any table of the principal navies of the world. By the close of the year 1907 there were about 300 vessels in the navy manned by 35,377 men. In comparative strength it ranked second only to that of Great Britain. Not only was there an increase in the number of vessels but there was a great improvement in the handling of the ships and in marksmanship. The

improvement in the matter of marksmanship was chiefly due to the efforts of a young officer, William S. Sims, who, finding his superiors indifferent to the matter, appealed over their heads directly to the President, with the result that he obtained an opportunity to put his theories into practice. In the battle of Santiago it has been estimated that only about 5 per cent of the shells fired struck the enemy. So effective were the improvements introduced by Sims that in 1908, at ranges twice as great as at Santiago, gunners throughout the fleet averaged 60 per cent, and one vessel scored 80 per cent. Rapidity of fire was also increased nearly fourfold.

The increasing immigration of Japanese to the United States, and particularly to the Pacific coast, produced in these years some serious complications. White laborers, truck farmers, small shopkeepers, and others began to feel and resent the competition of Orientals accustomed to a lower standard of living. Race prejudice sprang up—race prejudice sharpened by

economic competition. The people of the Far West transferred to the Japanese their old dislike of the Chinese and raised the new slogan: "The Japanese must go!"

In October, 1906, the San Francisco school board, urged on by the labor element, passed an order segregating "Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, and other Mongolians" in separate schools. The order nullified our treaty with Japan, which provided that the subjects of that nation should be granted the same personal rights when in this country that our own citizens enjoy, and Japan protested vigorously. The situation was a dangerous one, and all sorts of stories were given publicity in the sensational press regarding alleged designs of Japan against the peace and safety of the United States.

Though the Federal Government was greatly hampered by lack of power to protect foreigners against State and local authorities, President Roosevelt took a hand in the matter and succeeded in preventing the California Legislature from passing

threatened anti-Japanese legislation, and in persuading the San Francisco authorities to modify the segregation order on the understanding that he would attempt to secure the prevention of further immigration of Japanese. He did, in fact, secure with the Mikado's Government a sort of "gentlemen's agreement," whereby Japan promised not to grant passports to laborers migrating to the United States, while our Government took steps to prevent Japanese coming to the United States from our insular possessions or from foreign countries other than Japan. This solution temporarily allayed the excitement, but the anti-Japanese agitation on the Pacific slope broke out afresh some years later.

Toward the end of 1907 the status of international affairs was such that President Roosevelt decided that it would be well to show the world that the United States was prepared to protect American interests in the Pacific Ocean. In December, 1907, the Atlantic fleet, comprising sixteen battle-ships and a flotilla of de-

stroyers, began a cruise around the world. President Roosevelt steadily adhered to the plan in the face of the most extravagant denunciation on the part of those who declared that it could be considered only as a menace toward Japan. Naval experts claimed, however, that the experience to be gained by this cruise, such as practice in handling ships in all kinds of weather, the renewal of stores and coal, and the meeting of other problems incident to actual warfare, justified the experiment.

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Rear-Admiral Robley D. Evans.

Under command of Rear-Admiral Evans the fleet reached Rio Janeiro on January 12. Unusual honors were tendered the men by the Brazilian Government and people. The day of their arrival was made a national festival. In reply to the friendly greeting

from the Brazilian Government President Roosevelt wrote: "The war-ships on this cruise exist for no other purpose than to protect peace against possible aggression. As between the United States and Brazil these ships are not men-of-war, but messengers of friendship and good-will." There were similar manifestations on the part of Argentina, Chile, and Peru. The visit of the fleet to these countries was regarded as a compliment. They were permitted to see something of the strength of the republic at the north and learned that the Monroe Doctrine might be enforced, if need be, by a navy of the first rank. Notable ceremonies attended the arrival of the fleet at Honolulu, Auckland, Sydney, Melbourne, and Manila.

At Auckland Rear-Admiral Evans, who had spent forty-eight years in the navy, having reached the age limit of sixty-two years, was succeeded in command by Rear-Admiral Sperry. Unusual honors were accorded the fleet by Japan. Each American war-ship was escorted into the harbor of

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The Atlantic fleet starting on its journey round the world, December, 1907.

Yokohama by a Japanese vessel of the same class and many other evidences of friendship were manifest during their visit. The fleet then proceeded to China, through the Suez Canal and the Strait of Gibraltar, and at the end of one year and sixty-eight days, after covering 45,000 miles, dropped anchor in Hampton Roads. The accomplishment of this feat, without precedent in naval annals, still further contributed to the establishment of the prestige of the United States as a great world power.

CHAPTER V

HOME AFFAIRS DURING ROOSEVELT'S "SECOND" TERM

At the time of which we write one of the most glaring of American faults was the habit of wastefulness. Coal was wastefully mined and wastefully burned; natural-gas wells were allowed to burn unchecked for weeks, months, or even years; the soil was ruined by persistent cultivation of exhausting crops and by failure to prevent erosion; the forests were cut down and little effort was made to replace them, while almost every year thousands of square miles were swept away by fires. In these and many other ways Americans seemed bent upon despoiling posterity of its heritage. In the words of President Roosevelt: "Hitherto as a nation we have tended to live with an eye single to the present, and have permitted the reckless waste and destruction of much of our national wealth."

The need of forest conservation was the

first to be realized, and in 1891 Congress passed the Forestry Reserve Act, under which Presidents Harrison, Cleveland, and McKinley set apart a total of 35,000,000 acres of forest land. In 1898 Gifford Pinchot, a trained scientific forester, became chief of the Division of Forestry. At this time, strange as it may seem, this bureau did not have charge of the public forests; these were in control of a division of the Land Office, which was in a separate department, that of the Interior, and the forests were under the management of government clerks who had no practical knowledge of forestry. In 1901 Pinchot's division became the Bureau of Forestry, and in 1905, through the efforts of President Roosevelt, Congress made it the Forest Service, and the trained men whom Pinchot had gathered around him were at last given control over the national forests.

President Roosevelt and Pinchot were close friends and were in hearty accord as to the needs of forest conservation. Against the bitter opposition of selfish interests,

Roosevelt added about 150,000,000 acres to the national forest reserves. By 1909 Pinchot, as forester, headed an efficient force of over 3,000 men, who protected against fire and timber thieves an area greater than the total acreage of Germany. Reforestration plans had been formed, and much practical work of this kind has since been done. A policy was also adopted of exacting charges from stock-raisers who used public lands for pasture purposes.

Partly under the inspiration of Pinchot, President Roosevelt became an ardent advocate of conserving all natural resources that are limited in amount. In 1907 he persuaded Congress to authorize an Inland Waterways Commission to study the interlocking problems of waterways and forest preservation and to investigate the possibilities of inland transportation by water. In May, 1908, in order to fix the attention of the country upon the importance of conservation, he summoned to Washington an epoch-making conference of Governors, scientists, and men of affairs.

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The President, Governors, and other leading men at the National Resources Conference, at the White House, May 13 to 15, 1908.

During the meeting numerous addresses were made on the conservation of the minerals, of the soils, of the forests, and of the waters of the country. In his address on the conservation of ores and related minerals, Andrew Carnegie declared that during the three-fourths of a century from 1820 to 1895 nearly 4,000,000,000 tons of coal were mined by methods so wasteful that 6,000,000,000 tons were either destroyed or allowed to remain in the ground forever inaccessible. From 1896 to 1906 as much coal was produced as during the preceding seventy-five years. During this decade 3,000,000,000 tons were destroyed or left in the ground beyond reach for future use. Basing his statements on the investigations of scientists, he showed that at the present rate of increase in production the available coal of the country would be exhausted in two hundred years and the workable iron ore within a century.

Similarly, James J. Hill demonstrated that the forests of this country were fast disappearing and that from three to four

times as much timber was consumed each year as forest growth restored. His statements regarding the tremendous soil waste in our farming methods were likewise astounding.

Resolutions were adopted covering the entire subject of conservation as shown in one of them as follows: "We agree that the land should be so used that erosion and soil-wash shall cease; that there should be reclamation of arid and semi-arid regions by means of irrigation, and of swamps and overflowed regions by means of drainage; that the waters should be so conserved and used as to promote navigation, to enable the arid regions to be reclaimed by irrigation, and to develop power in the interests of the people; that the forests which regulate our rivers, support our industries, and promote the fertility and productiveness of the soil should be preserved and perpetuated; that the minerals found so abundantly beneath the surface should be so used as to prolong their utility; that the beauty, healthfulness, and habitability of

Grizzly Giant, Mariposa Grove, California, with a squad of cavalry at its base.

our country should be preserved and increased; that the sources of national wealth exist for the benefit of the people, and that monopoly thereof should not be tolerated." It was recommended that the States should establish conservation commissions to cooperate with one another and with a similar national commission.

On June 8, 1908, the first national conservation commission was created by President Roosevelt. Its forty-nine members were men well known in politics, in the industries, and scientific work. Gifford Pinchot was chairman of this commission, which submitted its first report at a conference in Washington, December 8–10, 1908. The delegates consisted of Governors and other representatives from the States and from national organizations. This report was received with favor and it was recommended that the work of the commission should be continued. Congress declined to make the necessary appropriation of $25,000 for this purpose, although it was strongly endorsed by the President.

In 1909 the National Conservation Association was formed, a voluntary organization of public and scientific men. The purpose of this association is to carry on the movement for conservation in every State.

Gifford Pinchot, President of the Conservation Commission.

Within seven months after the White House conference, forty-one State conservation commissions were created and fifty-one conservation commissions representing national organizations were formed.

President Roosevelt carried the movement still further in calling the first North American conservation congress. Representatives to this conference met in Washington, February 18, 1909. They came from Canada, Newfoundland, and Mexico as well as the United States. Broad general principles of conservation applicable to the North American continent were adopted.

Directly connected with the problems of conservation are those of irrigation. The so-called arid regions constitute two-fifths of the United States, and of this vast region it has been estimated that about one-tenth can be irrigated to advantage. Private enterprise had accomplished something along this line, and in 1894 Congress had given an impetus to the work by passing the Carey Act, offering to each State in the arid region a million acres of public land, provided the State would see to it that such land was reclaimed and settled. In 1902, largely as a result of the energetic support of President Roosevelt, Congress passed the Newlands Reclamation Act, which appropriated for reclamation purposes 95 per cent of the money received from sales of public lands in thirteen Western States and three Territories. A special Reclamation Service was established. By 1918 this service had provided water for about a million and a half acres, while many uncompleted projects were under way. Many remarkable engineering feats were performed by the engineers of the

Reclamation Service, and some of the dams constructed by them were among the most notable in the world.

In June, 1906, President Roosevelt se-

Built by the U. S. Reclamation Service.

Roosevelt Dam from the road.

cured the enactment of a more stringent interstate commerce act known as the Hepburn Act. By it the Interstate Commerce Commission was increased from five to seven, and the commission was empowered to fix maximum rates of transportation when complaints were made against the

existing rates, but the carriers were given the right of appeal to the courts. The Elkins Act, passed in 1903, had forbidden rebating, and the new act provided heavier penalties for this offense. Pipe lines, telephone, telegraph, express, and sleeping-car companies were also made subject to its provisions. The granting of free passes to any except certain specified classes of persons was forbidden, and thus a blow was struck at a custom whereby transportation companies had frequently influenced administrative officers, legislators, and even judges. A so-called "commodity clause" forbade the interstate or foreign transportation, except for the carrier's own use, of any commodity, other than timber, mined or produced by the carrier. The main purpose of this clause was to strike a blow at the combination between anthracite producers and coal-carrying railroads, but the Supreme Court handed down a decision that practically annulled this part of the act.

President Roosevelt repeatedly urged

that all corporations engaged in interstate commerce should be required to take out federal charters, but Congress failed to pass the necessary legislation. Under his direction a vigorous campaign was waged against rebating, and many offenders were prosecuted and convicted. In August, 1907, the Standard Oil Company was found guilty on 1,462 counts of rebating, and Judge Kenesaw M. Landis, of the federal district court at Chicago, fined the offender $29,240,000, but on a technicality the fine was later set aside by a higher court.

The President also urged that the Sherman Anti-Trust Act should be amended and made "more efficient and more in harmony with actual conditions," but again Congress held back. In 1907, the government instituted suits under the act against the Standard Oil Company and the American Tobacco Company, popularly known as the Tobacco Trust. The final decisions in these cases were not, however, handed down until in Taft's presidency.

The Sherman Act was passed by Congress

in 1890. It was entitled "An Act to Protect Trade and Commerce against Unlawful Restraints and Monopolies." Since its passage various cases falling under it had been decided, but until the decisions in the Standard Oil Company and the American Tobacco Company cases the extent and intent of this act had not been understood.

In the Standard Oil case the question involved was this: Was the Sherman Act violated by the existence and conduct of this corporation, which owned or controlled some eighty corporations originally in competition? The control had been acquired for the purpose of monopolizing the sale and distribution of petroleum products in the United States, and had been acquired by various means of combination with the intent either by fair or unfair methods "to drive others from the field and to exclude them from their right to trade." The proof was that, to destroy competitors, prices had been temporarily reduced in various localities, spies had been used on competitors'

business, bogus independent companies operated, and rebates given and taken.

In the case of the American Tobacco Company, there were more than one hundred formerly competing companies united under the control of a single organization and the market in nearly all tobacco products was monopolized. This domination was secured "by methods devised in order to monopolize the trade by driving competitors out of business."

In each case the court found the defendants guilty on the grounds that the agreements and the conduct of the defendants indicated a purpose to destroy competitors and monopolize trade in certain articles. The desired result was accomplished by wrongful means which injured the public as well as the competitors.

The facts in neither case required the consideration of the question as to whether the Sherman Act prohibited every unification of formerly competing properties and every restraint of trade, reasonable or unreasonable, but, owing to the uncertainty

of the public concerning the meaning of the law, the court stated definitely the meaning and scope of the act. From appearances the Supreme Court had practically amended the Sherman Act by limiting its application to "unreasonable" restraints of trade. The significance of the decisions lay here rather than in the fact that both companies were compelled to dissolve. The best legal authorities believed that the new interpretation of "reasonableness" and "unreasonableness" of restraint of trade increased rather than decreased the effectiveness of the law, inasmuch as the meaning had always been obscure. The new policy was a notification to combinations of capital that to exist without prosecution they must not resort to any unfair, oppressive, or illegal methods to control competition or crush competitors.

Late in 1907, not long after the imposition of the record fine against the Standard Oil Company, a financial stringency, amounting in some centres to a panic, swept over the country. By some persons

the reason assigned for the panic was the attitude of President Roosevelt toward the trusts. Another explanation was found in unsound and reckless banking conditions

The panic of 1907. Run on the Knickerbocker Trust Company, 34th Street and Fifth Avenue.

in New York City. A third explanation was that the panic was due to defects in our monetary system. These were the popular explanations, but, in reality, there were many deep-seated causes, and the crisis was world-wide.

To the ordinary observer the panic of 1907 will date from October 22, when the Knickerbocker Trust Company of New York closed its doors. Earlier in the month the Mercantile National Bank had gotten into difficulties and had appealed to the clearing-house committee for aid, which was given. Soon it was noted that the Knickerbocker Trust Company was in a precarious condition, and the directors, following the example of the other bank, appealed to the same committee. The investigation of the committee showed the company insolvent and aid was refused. When the facts became known, a run on the bank began and it was compelled to close its doors. The lack of confidence in other financial institutions was soon shown by similar runs.

No bank could stand the strain unaided. Now the Federal Government stepped in and Secretary of the Treasury Cortelyou came in person to New York and deposited $40,000,000 of the surplus from the United States Treasury to be used for the aid of

beleaguered institutions. For more than a week the crowds of depositors sought their money. The lines were not broken at night until the police hit upon the plan of giving to each individual a ticket denoting his place in the line. The Trust Company of America alone paid $34,000,000 across its counters and still crowds thronged the streets. At length the enormous reserve of the Treasury was exhausted and it became necessary to delay and deliberately to make slow payments. Through loans made by other banks the Trust Company of America and the Lincoln Trust Company, which had endured the hardest sieges, were saved and now the panic entered its second stage.

The country was thoroughly aroused, and to avoid a nation-wide raid upon banking houses the bankers took radical steps. The first measure resorted to was the enforcement of the rule requiring savings-bank depositors, at the option of the institution, to give sixty days' notice before withdrawing deposits. The second expedi-

ent was one which had been resorted to during former years of financial unsteadiness. "Emergency currency," in the form of clearing-house certificates and other promises to pay, was issued.

Various other devices were used to aid the banks and to block the spread of the panic, and gradually financial affairs righted themselves. As the smoke cleared away it became apparent that basically the business of the country was sound, and that one of the main needs of the nation was a more elastic currency. When the Sixtieth Congress met in December, 1907, many proposals were made for remedying the defects of our financial system. Ultimately Congress passed the Aldrich-Vreeland bill, which authorized national banks to combine, under certain restrictions, and issue emergency notes in time of financial stress. The act was intended to be merely temporary and was to expire June 30, 1914. It provided for the formation of a National Monetary Commission to investigate and report to Congress necessary and desirable

changes in the banking and currency laws. This commission, which was headed by Senator Aldrich of Rhode Island, made an investigation and ultimately brought in a report, but legislation was delayed until after Woodrow Wilson became President.

Investigation made at this time showed that 20 per cent of the articles of food in common use were adulterated. This led to the passing of a far-reaching measure by Congress, 1906, known as the Pure Food and Drugs law. It provides against the manufacture and sale of adulterated or misbranded foods, drugs, medicines, or liquors in the District of Columbia, the Territories, and the insular possessions of the United States, and prohibits the shipment of such goods from one State to another or to a foreign country. To the Department of Agriculture was given the power to enforce the law. Thus the public is protected against adulterated foods and medicines and dishonest and misleading labels, and honest manufacturers are protected against fraudulent competition.

For a number of years some of the European countries condemned American packing-house products. Abuses in the proc-

U. S. Government inspection of a packing-house.

Inspector's assistant attaching a "Retained" tag to carcass marked by inspector on the heading bench. Carcasses so marked are left intact until they reach the retaining-room.

esses of preparing preserved meats were brought vividly before Americans by Upton Sinclair in his novel "The Jungle." The Department of Agriculture took up the problem and a special investigation was ordered by President Roosevelt. The report showed the need for more rigid inspec-

tion, and the agitation throughout the country forced Congress, 1906, somewhat reluctantly, to adopt the President's recommendation for a thorough inspection, by

Earthquake at San Francisco, April 18, 1906. Upheaval of sidewalk at Eighteenth and Capp Streets.

government agents, of all processes and methods used in the meat packing-houses.

Early in the morning of April 18, 1906, San Francisco was visited by one of the most dreadful disasters of modern times. An earthquake shock destroyed many of the important buildings in the business part of the city. Other cities and towns

along the coast and in the Santa Clara Valley suffered greatly and a number of the buildings of Leland Stanford University, thirty miles south of San Francisco, were demolished. Ninety per cent of the loss in San Francisco was due to the conflagration, which raged for two days. Fires broke out owing to the crossing of electric wires. The water-mains were old and poorly laid and the force of the earthquake had burst them. Firemen and soldiers fought the advance of the flames by destroying buildings with dynamite. Not until an area three miles in length and two miles in breadth, including all the business and the thickly settled residential sections, had been burned over was the advance of the flames stopped. The estimated loss of life was 1,000, and property valued at $300,000,000 was destroyed. Among the irreparable losses were several libraries, the collections of the California Academy of Sciences, and many works of art. The noted Bancroft Library, with its collection of manuscripts, was saved.

A quarter of a million people were rendered homeless and were without food and the means of earning a livelihood. But both public and private aid was speedily

Refugees in Golden Gate Park, San Francisco.

rendered. The courage and hopefulness of the people did not desert them, and the rebuilding of the city was immediately begun. At the end of a year one-half of the burned area had been rebuilt. The old frame and low brick structures were replaced by modern buildings of steel and re-enforced concrete.

On June 1, 1905, an exposition was opened at Portland, Oregon, in commemoration of the Lewis and Clark expedition (1804–1805). Four hundred acres of ground adjoining the principal residence district, overlooking the Willamette River, were set aside for this purpose. There were extensive exhibits by the United States, Great Britain, Canada, Holland, Italy, China, and other European and Asiatic countries. The fair was, in general, the expression of the life and history of the Pacific Northwest and the direct relationship between that region and the Orient. Many national congresses were held in conjunction with it, such as the American Medical Association, National Good Roads Association, and the National Conference of Charities and Correction.

On April 26, 1907, the Jamestown Exposition was opened. It was in commemoration of the first English settlement in America. The southern shore of Hampton Roads, forty miles southeast of old Jamestown, was selected as the site for the build-

ings. The historic idea was uppermost in the exposition. The colonial type of construction was dominant and good taste and moderation were notable in the arrangement of the grounds and exhibits. Industrial and commercial progress were emphasized. The United States had a special exhibit to illustrate the work of the different departments. In the harbor, one of the finest in the world, was the greatest international naval display ever witnessed. Every variety of war-vessel in existence was on exhibition besides commercial and passenger boats from the great ports of the world.

During these years the world was astounded at the unparalleled exhibitions of the possibilities of the aeroplane. The dream of centuries had been realized, and American genius was responsible for the achievement. In 1896, a model machine which had been constructed under the direction of Professor Langley, secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, driven by a one-horse-power steam-engine, made three

From a photograph by H. H. Morris.

Charles K. Hamilton racing an automobile on the beach at Galveston, Texas.

flights of a mile each near Washington. Congress appropriated $50,000 for the construction of a complete machine, but after two unsuccessful attempts to fly, with an operator, the project was abandoned.

Wilbur Wright and his brother Orville, bicycle manufacturers of Dayton, Ohio, did not join in the general ridicule which followed this failure, and after three years of experimentation they demonstrated that the principles upon which Professor Langley had constructed his machine were, in the main, sound. The first successful flight of a few seconds by one of their machines weighing 750 pounds was made in 1903. Two years afterward a flight of 24 miles was made at the rate of 38 miles an hour. Other successful experiments followed, and the claim of the Wrights to be considered the inventors of the first successful man-carrying flying machine was established. On September 16, 1908, Wilbur Wright, at Le Mans, France, demonstrated that his machine could remain in the air for over an hour and at the same time fly across

country at a high speed. In that year, also, Orville Wright, in a government test at Fort Myer, Virginia, not only made flights lasting over an hour, but carried a companion with him. During July, 1909, a French aviator, Bleriot, flew across the English Channel, a distance of 32 miles. That year, also, Orville Wright ascended to the height of 1,600 feet; with a passenger, made a record flight of 1 hour, 12 minutes, and 36 seconds; and flew across country with a companion for 10 miles at the rate of 42 miles an hour.

Photograph by Brown Bros., N. Y.

Wilbur and Orville Wright, and the late King Edward of England.

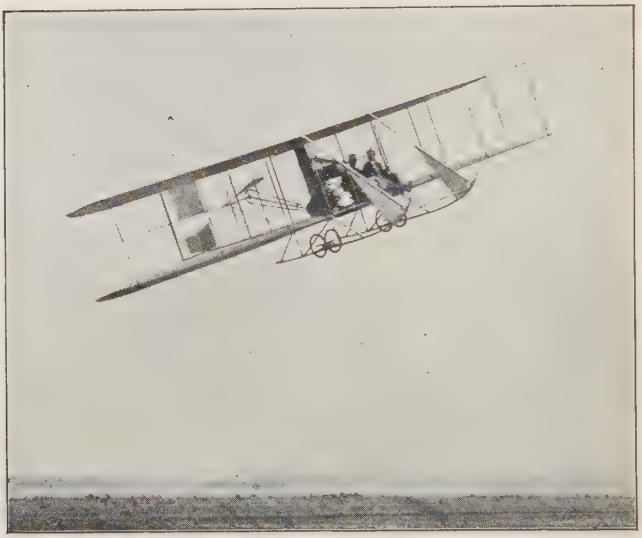
Thus it was shown that a machine had at last been constructed which would not only fly, but would remain in the air at the will of its pilot and subject to his guidance.

Wilbur Wright in his aeroplane at Pau, France, with King Alfonso of Spain.

In the aviation meet at Los Angeles, January 10, 1910, Louis Paulhan, a Frenchman, established the record of 4,000 feet for height and Glenn H. Curtiss with a passenger set a new world's record of 55 miles.

Shortly afterward Curtiss demonstrated

for the first time that it was possible for an aeroplane, especially constructed, to rise from the surface of water, make a flight in



Harry K. Atwood with Lieut. Fickle flying over Governor's Island, N. Y., after completing his flight from St. Louis to New York.

the air, return to the starting-point, and again alight on the water.

The great possibilities as well as the dangers connected with aviation were brought out in the meet at Chicago during August, 1911, where two aviators lost their lives. C. P. Rodgers, in a Wright machine, re-

mained in the air twenty-six and one-half hours out of a possible thirty-one and one-half hours. Lincoln Beachey set a new world's record by ascending 11,642 feet. This record was again surpassed within a month by Ronald G. Garros, a French aviator, who ascended 13,943 feet.

Harry K. Atwood flew from St. Louis to Chicago in one day, a distance of 315 miles. He continued his flight to New York, and in eleven days reached that city. He had travelled 1,265 miles in the actual flying time of 28 hours. C. P. Rodgers eclipsed all records for long-distance aeroplane flying by crossing the continent from Sheepshead Bay, New York, to Pasadena, Cal., a distance of 4,231 miles. He accomplished this feat in the total time of 49 days, September 17 to November 5, 1911. His actual flying time was 82 hours.

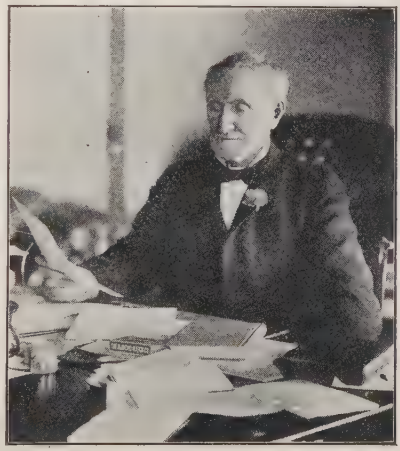
CHAPTER VI

THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN OF 1908

In spite of the oft-repeated statement by President Roosevelt that he would not be a candidate for renomination in 1908, it required strenuous efforts on his part and on the part of other Republican leaders to prevent a stampede to him in the Chicago convention. Ultimately William H. Taft of Ohio was nominated on the first ballot, receiving 702 votes out of a total of 980. As Secretary of War in President Roosevelt's Cabinet he had been chosen by the President to succeed him, for it was believed that through training and sympathy he was best fitted to carry out the policies of the administration.

Other candidates for the nomination had appeared, and each had a following of more or less strength. Senator La Follette, of Wisconsin; Governor Hughes, of New York, and Speaker Cannon, of Illinois,

each received some support in the convention. Throughout the land no surprise was occasioned, however, by the nomination of Mr. Taft. Apparently the nomination of James S. Sherman for the office of Vice-President was the result of political expediency; he was a good organization man; he had been a member of Congress for twenty years; and the fact that he came from New York made it a wise move, politically, to give him a place on the ticket.



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Joseph G. Cannon.

To outside observers the convention was a harmonious one, ready and anxious to adopt and indorse the Roosevelt policies and to accord a most hearty support to the candidate who best represented these

policies. The platform which was drawn up was a strong political document which not only stated the Republican policies clearly but was also a piece of campaign literature of some note from the standpoint of literary worth.

Throughout the months preceding the assembling of the Democratic convention, in Denver, there was some uncertainty as to who would control it. Governor Folk, of Missouri, had been much in the public eye through his war on graft and on account of his successful administration of the gubernatorial office. Judge Gray, of Delaware, who had served his State in the United States Senate and had acquired an enviable reputation as a justice of the United States Circuit Court, was also a strong candidate. Judson Harmon, of Ohio, Attorney-General under President Cleveland, and Governor Johnson, of Minnesota, had numerous supporters.

When the voting began in the convention the result was not long in doubt. William Jennings Bryan was for the third time ac-

corded the honor of leading the Democratic party. On the first ballot Mr. Bryan received 892½ votes; Judge Gray, his chief opponent, received 59½. The cheers which followed the announcement of the vote showed that two defeats had not dampened the loyalty of the Western Democrats. Mr. Kern, of Indiana, was nominated by acclamation for the Vice-Presidency.

Both parties in their platforms favored tariff revision. The Republican party declared for the protective system and reciprocity and promised a special session of Congress to treat the whole tariff question. The Democratic party adhered to the old principle of "tariff for revenue" and pledged itself to return to that basis as soon as practicable. Furthermore, it pledged itself to bring about immediately such reductions as would put trust-controlled products upon the free list and to lower the duties on the necessaries of life, particularly upon those which were sold more cheaply abroad than at home. Lumber was to go on the free list. Any de-

ficiency in the revenues which might arise from this policy was to be made up through the medium of an income tax.

Both platforms declared for reform in the currency laws, but neither one advanced any plan for revision. The Democratic platform condemned as criminal the large expenditures of the recent administration, but showed some inconsistency by favoring such policies as a large navy, generous pensions, and large expenditures for the improvement of rivers and harbors, which would necessitate the expenditure of great sums.

The regulation of railways and corporations was demanded by both parties. The difference between the demands lay in the means to be employed. The Democratic platform declared for State control of this question as well as that relating to the conservation of our natural resources. The Republicans took the stand that both questions should be solved by the Federal Government.

On the Philippine question there was

a division. The Republicans favored a gradual development of home-rule; the Democrats early independence under an American protectorate.

Three things in the Democratic platform are worthy of note: (1) The demand for a federal law compelling publicity of campaign contributions; (2) the election of senators by direct vote, and (3) the adoption of such parliamentary rules as would make the House of Representatives a deliberative body.

The Socialist convention, which assembled in Chicago, nominated Eugene V. Debs for President and Ben Hanford for Vice-President.

The nominees of the Prohibition party were Eugene W. Chapin, of Illinois, for President, and Aaron S. Watkins, of Ohio, for Vice-President.

It has often been said that the excitement of presidential campaigns is detrimental to the nation. This could hardly be said of the campaign of 1908. To produce political excitement there must be

debatable questions termed by the politicians as "issues." Just what the issues were in the campaign few people could determine. There were no issues which involved foreign affairs. The Democratic party did not criticise the sending of the fleet around the world, the administration's policy in Cuba, the policy concerning the Panama Canal, nor even the policy pursued in the Philippines. As regards military and naval matters, pensions to veterans, the development of internal waterways, the conservation of resources, etc., there were no issues simply because the people had practically the same views about them. Consequently issues had to be made, and, generally speaking, the Republican leaders appealed to the people along the lines of the personal fitness of the candidates.

The Democratic nominee was essentially an orator—he swayed the masses by his denunciation of the perils which threatened the nation through the concentration of wealth which had gone on under the Re-

publican rule. His opponents admitted that a man of his stamp was invaluable to the American people, but they contended that his place was in the editor's chair, in the pulpit, or upon the lecture platform, not as the chief executive of the nation. Furthermore, it was said that this great orator had views on political, social, and economic questions which bordered on the visionary, and that any man who had openly supported free silver, anti-imperialism, or even the guaranty of bank deposits, could not be safely trusted with the guidance of the nation's destinies.

The Republican candidate had none of the qualifications of an orator; he was rather a teacher. He did not cater to the desires of his audience; he struck at the abuses most prevalent in the section where he spoke. It was his business to point out weaknesses; to find remedies for them; to educate, not sway, his audiences. His mind was constructive; he had proven his ability by his organization of a civil government for the Philippines. So it was argued

that the best test of his ability and guaranty of efficiency was the work he had already done.

The vote cast for presidential electors was primarily an expression of popular confidence in the Roosevelt administration. For nearly half a century the situation in the nation had been becoming more and more a source of anxiety to the thinking men of the land. Our economic development had taken place so rapidly that the great aggregations of capital and the great corporations had gotten beyond control and had shown dangerous tendencies toward lawlessness and political corruption. The feeling that the great corporations were not only beyond the control of law but even controlled the government in the interests of a few, led to a belief that the government was passing out of the hands of the people, and that the function of our republican government was being arrested. The radical and the agitator were getting the ear of the nation, for the faith of the nation was shaken. Then came President

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Mr. Taft formally accepting the Republican nomination for the Presidency, on the veranda of the residence of his brother, Mr. Charles P. Taft, of Cincinnati, Ohio.

Roosevelt to take up a task of greatest difficulty, and for nearly eight years, amidst the applause of the plain people, he administered the affairs of the nation firmly, honestly, and with efficiency. The Republican convention in Chicago by its nomination of Mr. Taft had put the stamp of its approval upon the Roosevelt administration, and turned to appeal to the voters.

In round numbers Taft received 7,680,000 votes and Bryan 6,410,000. The electoral vote stood 321 for the Republican candidate and 162 for the Democratic candidate. With the exception of Nebraska, Nevada, and Colorado, which together contributed sixteen electoral votes, all the States carried by the Democratic nominee were Southern States. The nation had approved the Roosevelt policy, but the great popular vote for Mr. Bryan showed clearly the loyalty of millions of voters. There were many who had feared Mr. Bryan's policies in 1896, who voted for him in 1908 because they believed that

twelve years of public life and the study of national problems had changed and bettered his ideals.

The popular vote is interesting mainly for what it showed concerning the changed strength of the small parties. During the period 1904 to 1908 the drift had evidently been away from them. The Socialist vote was nearly as large in 1908 as in 1904, which was a consolation to Socialists, for they had held the ground gained by the heavy vote in 1904. The Prohibition vote fell off about 10 per cent from that polled in 1904, and the Independence party polled only 82,000 votes.

In the House of Representatives the Sixty-first Congress had 219 Republicans and 172 Democrats; the Senate 60 Republicans and 32 Democrats.